

JPRS 73880

20 July 1979

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1700



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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<b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 73880	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1700		5. Report Date 20 July 1979		
7. Author(s)		6.		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.		
		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.		
		11. Contract/C or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered		
		14.		
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstract (Limit 200 words)  This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.				
17. Document Analysis & Descriptors				
<u>  </u> International Affairs <u>X</u> Albania <u>X</u> Bulgaria <u>X</u> Czechoslovakia <u>X</u> German Democratic Republic <u>X</u> Hungary <u>X</u> Poland <u>X</u> Romania <u>X</u> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms				
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 126	
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price	

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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STRICTER STATE CONTROL OVER EXECUTION OF WORK URGED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 May 79 p 2

[Article by Osman Murati, head of the State Inspection Office: "Let Us Raise the State Control Over the Execution of the Tasks to a Higher Level"]

[Text] The results achieved by every cell of our economic and social activity on the basis of the implementation of the principle of self-reliance in the bitter struggle against the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and blockade are inseparable from the concern and work of the state and economic organs for perfecting the work method and strengthening control over the execution of the tasks. This has, thus, become an important factor for further increasing the feeling of responsibility in the execution of any work, for the continual strengthening of proletarian discipline and the expansion of the struggle against the manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, shortcomings and weaknesses, manifested in work organization, in the execution of the measures for a more complete utilization of the technical-material base and of work time, the further strengthening of discipline in the different links of the production process, in distribution and so forth, show, among other things, that the effectiveness of the control over the execution of these tasks has not been up to the level of the requirements set by the Party. It is precisely the lack of a systematic and thorough control by the relevant economic organs over the mobilization of internal reserves which, for example, prevented the petroleum transportation park in Patos from including more than 9500 tons kilometers in the 1978 plan or from planning an average of 57 liters of fuel for every 1000 tons kilometers, compared to 56 liters which is the advanced average of the enterprise itself. Many such examples can be cited from the communal and agricultural sectors and so forth.

The revolutionizing of the method of control and the further improvement of its effectiveness, on the basis of the requirements continually set by the Party, are directly connected with the taking of measures on the spot and the assignment of the tasks that will improve the situation. Teams of control and aid are organized by each district for the various agricultural campaigns; among other things, these teams observe, for example, that the

collection of fertilizers, as a fundamental factor for increasing output in agricultural crops, is not done properly everywhere; but, they do not go deeper in the matter in order to analyze it and take concrete measures for its solution. The irregular functioning of the permanent land enrichment work brigades in some agricultural units in Kruje, Lushnje, Fier and in other districts, has also led to the non-fulfillment of production tasks. This fact, however, has been observed several times and, so far, the problem has not been fully solved. Matters of this nature also exist in other sectors of the economy where many work teams, both district and ministry teams, discover these shortcomings and weaknesses in work in certain fields during their control activities, but do not examine them seriously so as to take measures to prevent them from being repeated.

Among the most important ways of eliminating shortcomings discovered through control are the taking of measures and the setting of tasks, on the basis of the most thorough knowledge and generalization of advanced experience, whose superiority has been certified by life itself.

Although progressive experience is found everywhere, it is not being used sufficiently by the specialized control organs and by the other special teams, as the most convincing and best proven means for eliminating shortcomings and weaknesses in the fulfillment of the tasks of the plan. Thus, the petroleum geological enterprises have many issues to deal with in connection with the strengthening of the technological discipline in the drilling of wells and the elimination of damage. However, the manifestations of globalism and underestimation in the organization of control activity on the part of certain directors of these enterprises have become obstacles to better studying and, especially, comparing the positive experiences of the work brigades which have achieved high results in this direction with that of brigades which commit repeated mistakes in regard to the violation of technical discipline in the drilling process.

For example, the experience of the work brigade led by brigade leader Kadri Daja at the Drenovice sector of the Kutallise agricultural cooperative in Berat District is very rich. For almost 7 years in a row this work brigade has been fulfilling all the tasks of the crops plan assigned to it. This work brigade's secret of success is nothing else but the spirit of mobilization and the strengthening of control and the requiring of reports on the implementation of the proletarian and technical discipline by each member of the work brigade, as well as the fulfillment of the daily tasks in every stage of the agricultural campaign. There are other similar work brigades throughout our country. But, the most important thing is that this experience must be assimilated by everyone. Progressive experience opens new horizons for every cadre and specialist so he can to his own work much better. Among them, the control teams, too, as a result of a better study of progressive experience, will be in a better position to extract better documented, real and mobilizing tasks, tasks which have been implemented in actual life.

The achievement of results in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the Party, especially, of these tasks regarding the fulfillment of the plan, is also connected with the taking of measures for strengthening the internal control

in every cell of our economic activity. At the present time everywhere there are a great number of cadres and specialists with different administrative and executive functions in enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives; their work is reflected in the results achieved. Therefore, the opportunities for better organizing and for continually strengthening internal control over every link of production and of services are also greater.

We believe that the impact of the further strengthening of the internal control in units over the fulfillment of the tasks of the plan should be concentrated on certain fields, among which we can cite, for example, the providing of assortments and execution of contracts article by article and the struggle against the manifestations of globalism in this field, the taking of concrete measures to eliminate the exceeding of norms for materials and manpower, not documented by increases in output, which is observed in some enterprises, and the shortcomings with regard to the quality of the production of certain consumer goods articles and so forth. The monitoring and controlling of these tasks step by step, especially, where the fulfillment of the plan indicators is hobbling, must be considered by the work brigade, sector, unit and up to the level of the enterprise and institution, as a concrete aid in handling undesired phenomena and manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy with concrete measures.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand that organization and discipline, coupled with a systematic and comprehensive control over the execution of the tasks, are among the most important ways for fulfilling the tasks of the plan, for overcoming difficulties and the imperialist and revisionist blockade and for solving the problems dictated by the dynamic development of the economy. A broad field for strengthening economic-financial control is the protection and good maintenance of socialist property. Also, in this connection, the results are great, but there are many shortcomings. Experience shows that, as a result of the weakness of the internal control in some enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, and even of the control by the specialized organs in the district, it was not possible to discover in time some abuses observed in the administration of the property; and, when they were noticed, the taking of the measures to eliminate these phenomena was not at the required level, such as happened at the housing enterprise in Tirana, the forestry enterprise in Sarande, the workshop branch in Gjirokaster and so forth.

After all, the continual improvement of the effectiveness of the control depends entirely on how much and on how one upholds these main links and matters that condition the fulfillment of the tasks of the plan and the fulfillment of the other important tasks stemming from the Party's guidelines and directives. The execution of this task is directly connected with the preliminary work, carried out in view of the preparation for the implementation of the control by determining the object and surroundings of the matters to be observed and to be analyzed, by achieving the widest possible involvement of the opinion of the masses in the discussion and handling of the issues, and activating skilled workers, cooperative members and specialists who are in a position to contribute on this field. Cooperation and even

closer ties with the activity of the direct monitoring exercised by workers and villagers have been and still are important factors in the totality of the ways and methods for strengthening the state control over all these links. Present experience in this field shows that there still is a need to work more for the better coordination and cooperation of all the forms of control in accordance with the Party's guidelines and Comrade Enver's teachings.

The most correct conception of the content of controls and of the method of their execution are two matters which not only are not detached from each other, but also, during the work, complement each other. In regard to this, good experience has been acquired. Every year, in addition to special controls and inspections, almost all the enterprises and institutions undergo an economic-financial review-control. The further increase of the role of this control requires that the sphere of its action be continually expanded and deepened, by exceeding the often narrow theme of the issues resulting in a broader plan for the analysis of the processes and of the economic phenomena that condition the fulfillment of all the indicators of the economic and financial plan and the good administration of socialist property.

The further strengthening of state control over the execution of the tasks and, especially over those in the field of the economy, constitutes an important direction for the perfection of the work method of the economic and state organs. Therefore, as stressed by the 7th Party Congress, it is necessary to take serious measures for the continual strengthening of the state, economic and financial control and for the combining of the state control with direct worker and villager monitoring and not to allow any negligence in regard to the execution of the laws of the state.

9150

CSO: 2100



ARMY DAILY CALLS FOR HIGHER DISCIPLINE, ORGANIZATION

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 31 May 79 p 1

[Editorial: "To Consolidate and Raise the Work Organization and Discipline"]

[Text] Inspired by the patriotic upswing in honor of the 35th anniversary of the socialist revolution in the country and in the People's Army, the soldiers are willing and able to fulfill with dignity the honorable and responsible tasks entrusted to them by the Communist Party. Obvious proof was the result of their combat and political readiness in the winter socialist competition.

Together with the new requirements for combat skillfulness, a great role in the soldiers' life play the questions of continuous drive for honor, dignity, exemplary appearance, military tidiness and adherence to the code of ethics and morality. And this is a normal phenomenon as the new heights of military skillfulness can be reached only under conditions of unceasing struggle to achieve utmost organization, high discipline and undestructible order in all units of the army organism.

The soldiers collective is a special organism. It follows strict, inherent laws, under the undivided authority of the commanding officer. The training, education and service are regulated by the statute and orders which are directly carried out by all servicemen. Discipline and obedience are mandatory features of army life. And nothing can erode its organism and violate its rhythm as the lack of discipline, organization and order. Therefore, constant exemplary organization and high discipline are of utmost importance. This is the ultimate task of the commanding officers, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations.

And normally there are no discipline or order violations and the combat and military readiness are commendable in units and ships where the life, training, and education of the personnel are organized in line with the statutes.

The experience of champion units shows that it is a complex task to achieve high organization and discipline. This task can be fulfilled by better ideological and political education of the personnel and by higher



consciousness and feeling of responsibility of all servicemen regarding their military duty. The personnel must be constantly and purposefully educated in the spirit of high ideology, political vigilance, loyalty and selfless devotion to the socialist fatherland.

Better organization and high discipline are achieved by daily work with the purpose of adopting in everyday life the premises of the military oath, statute, regulations, and instructions. Only well-organized military life, conforming to the requirements of the statutes and orders can create conditions for constant improvement in the combat readiness of the units.

The decisive role here is played by the commanding officer. The level of discipline in the units depends upon the personal example and exigence of the commanding officer and upon his skill to direct the efforts of the staff, the party and Komsomol organizations toward correct rhythm in training and education, as well as to create and keep firm statutory order. This skill does not come by itself. The commanding officers with one-man authority must be carefully assisted and persistently trained in the spirit of high exigence and concern for subordinates. An important role in this direction is played by disciplinary practice. Skillful use of encouragement and punishment measures, as determined by the disciplinary statute, has a great influence on the consciousness and attitude of servicemen, and motivates them in the struggle for new accomplishments in their training, service, and competitions.

The statutory order is the basis of military organization. It stands first of all for exemplary military duty, sentry and internal service, and strict organization of combat and political training. Strict statutory order means also faultless technical use of combat technique, correct relations among servicemen, exact fulfillment of the utilization of time, curricula and programs, concern for cultural life, for rational relaxation of personnel and for sport-mass activities. Those tasks must be resolved in a complex and unified manner, with wide utilization of the mobilizing and educational possibilities of socialist competition.

However, organization and discipline do not always meet present-day requirements. There are still cases of statutory violations, and not all servicemen correctly fulfill their 24-hour duty. In some units, the lectures are often at a low methodological level. There are cases of inadequate sentry and internal work as well as deviations from instructions on equipment servicing.

The combat and political training in some units is unsatisfactory due to lack of accuracy in the educational process. Classes do not usually start on time, the work is simplified, there is no competition and this, of course, leads to poor quality and effectiveness. Military discipline is violated, and there are instances of statutory deviations. Those shortcomings are explained first of all by lack of diligence by commanding officers.

The most important thing in the struggle for high discipline and organization is still live organizational activity, the skill to plan work well, to sort out the important issues, to work together with the servicemen and to assist in, as well as check the fulfillment of, work. Conferences and discussions cannot substitute for everyday training and education, for the assistance given to young officers, sergeants and master sergeants in enforcing discipline. One should not forget that sergeants and master sergeants are the closest assistants to the officers in solving this important and pertinent task.

The consolidation of organization and discipline is one of the main sectors of party-political work. The political organs and party organizations are called to strengthen their requirements as regards communists, and to raise consistently and purposefully the responsibilities of the military cadres in the fulfillment of their tasks.

Our army is a powerful and disciplined force, a well-integrated fighting organism, able at any moment to fulfill any task in the name of the interests of the socialist fatherland. In preparing themselves for new and greater, more complex tasks, the soldiers will improve their organization and discipline even more and will meet the 35th anniversary of the socialist revolution in the country with good results in their combat readiness.

1010

CSO: 2200

**BULGARIA**

**BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ADMIRAL ORMANOV**

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Jun 79 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Admiral Branimir Ormanov, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov: "Revolutionary Optimism: Duty, Faith, Responsibility--Working Means You Care"]

[Text] In connection with the 35th anniversary of the socialist revolution and the Bulgarian People's Army we are publishing under the headline "Revolutionary Optimism: Duty, Faith, Responsibility" an interview with Admiral Branimir Ormanov.



[Question] When and where were you born? What is the most vivid moment of your boyhood years that you recall?

[Answer] I was born on 30 September 1914 in the city of Qurtag. My parents were teachers at that time.

After the September 1923 uprising, by decision of the party my mother and I, accompanied by Georgi Kostov, went to Turkey and from there to the USSR --to Odessa. The trip on the ship "Il'ich" remains unforgettable for me because of the extremely severe winter storm (it was December) and the scare that the sea gave me. From that time, however, in my childhood and adolescent dreams I saw myself as a sailor. To this day I cannot explain this inconsistency. Perhaps subconsciously I wanted to overcome my fear of the sea and to fight against it. And since I became a sailor for all that, obviously this episode in my life had a very strong influence on my choice of profession.

[Question] Where did you study and when did you complete your education? Who were the strongest personalities (teachers) who left lasting impressions on you and for what?

[Answer] I completed the third grade at the Benkovski elementary school in Sofia in 1923, the seventh grade in Moscow in 1929, and in 1930-1931 I was a student at an electrical engineering vocational school. In 1931, with my Komsomol class I entered the Frunze Naval School, from which I was graduated with distinction in 1936 with the specialty of submariner-shipbuilder. After this I was appointed submarine navigator in the Order-of-the-Red-Banner Baltic Fleet. Two chiefs in the naval school, Tatarinov and Burichenko, participants in the Civil War, left strong impressions that influenced my development. Although very different in character, they earned the respect of all the cadets by their devotion to the cause they served, by the demands they made, and by their concern. The commissar of the course, Belskiy, remains in my memory to this day as a model military and party worker. Sharp recollections remain of such teachers as D. Belobrov, Masarov, Ukhov and especially Makarov not only because of their superb knowledge of the subject matter they taught, but also because of their able combining of instruction with education.

[Question] When did you first begin to engage in communist activity? Would you indicate the first communists (members of the Workers Youth Union) with whom you became acquainted and what was your connection with them?

[Answer] The atmosphere in our family was communist and created a definite political frame of mind in me. My father had been a party member since 1897. At my birth he had 17 years of an active communist career behind him. He took the initiative in creating party organizations in Qurtag and Strashitsa, was arrested and discharged. My mother is a communist too, though not as active.

As a Young Pioneer, I participated in a group that helped collectivize agriculture in the USSR. At the behest of the party organization of the USSR VSNS [Supreme Council of the National Economy] I took part in checking on

the fulfillment of production plans at one of the economic trusts in Leningrad. At school in arguments with children who expressed Trotskyist views I defended the party line. Although they were not at a high ideological and theoretical level, these arguments were conducted with sincerity and fervor. Besides my family, great credit for my education goes to my Young Pioneer leader, member of the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Young Communist League] and CPSU Mark Osipov.

Besides my father, the Young Pioneer organization, the naval school and the general situation in the USSR, the greatest influence on my development as a communist was Simeon Filipov (Captain Rak) of Turgovishte, professional revolutionary, member of the Spanish International Brigade and submariner, executed on the rifle range of the reserve officers school at Sofia. Krum Buchvarov had no less influence in molding my personality. I became acquainted with him on the recommendation of Comrade Vasil Kolarov.

Avzug Popov of Shumen, my first cousin, member of the International Brigade and a parachutist, executed on the rifle range of the reserve officers school in Sofia, and Stefan Kasabov of Omurtag and others had a strong influence on my development as a communist.

[Question] What personal injury did you suffer in the revolutionary struggle before the victory of the socialist revolution? How did this affect your further career?

[Answer] For a communist, any injury that the party suffers is a personal injury. What I mean, however, cannot be characterized as injury in the precise sense of the word. It was a serious internal crisis that inflicted great losses on the party and affected me personally, too.

This was the Stalin cult of the personality in complete disregard of Leninist principles and norms of party life. Besides the well-known visible manifestations (unwarranted arrests and sentences), the cult also did invisible, but serious injury to the people's mentality by breeding fear, slander, suspiciousness, estrangement, hypocrisy, toadyism etc., which carried over into party life, too. It took the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress and the contribution of the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee to overcome these breaches. It took many years of struggle to reestablish Leninist norms of party life. Despite the fact that I personally suffered, I never had a moment's hesitation, doubt or resentment at the party or my homeland, believing as I did in party justice. I understood perfectly that this phenomenon was absolutely alien to the party.

What conclusions did I draw for myself? I do my utmost not to deviate from Leninist principles of party life in my activity as a military and party worker and leader. I abide most strictly by the party principle of democratic centralism and the combination of one-man management and responsibility with collectivism in the Bulgarian People's Army. In my relations



with my subordinates I combine stringency with comradely consideration and respect for their human and military dignity, I give them the trust they need and encourage the initiatives they take.

[Question] To wind up your life and work prior to the Ninth of September 1944, will you highlight in summary form the main moments in your biography that have helped mold you as a communist activist?

[Answer] After graduation from the naval school in 1936 I was assigned to the 1st Submarine Brigade of the Order-of-the-Red-Banner Baltic Fleet and sailed as navigator on the submarines L-3 and L-1. During this time I was also secretary of the primary Komsomol organization of submarine L-1. When the Civil War in Spain began, it was decided that our division should be sent there to help the Spanish Republican fleet. The navigators of the other submarines of the division and I conducted navigation training intensely en route. My desire to participate in the Spanish Civil War was thus satisfied. In the summer of 1939 I was appointed instructor in navigational astronomy at the newly opened Caspian Naval School in Baku. There, in 1940, I was accepted as a candidate, and in 1941 as a member of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). The war found me on the hydrographic ship of the Caspian flotilla, on which we were making a practice cruise with the cadets. Due to the deterioration of the situation on the fronts, the school was ordered to form and train a marine brigade from cadets in the lower classes, with officers from the school's complement. I was appointed company commander there, and later I was reappointed assistant commander of the training ship "Pravda" [Truth]. In 1943 a group of navigation officers and I were sent to the Pacific Fleet. After that I continued my service in various naval training institutions. In 1944 I was appointed instructor and company commander at the Frunze Higher Naval School in Leningrad. In May 1945 after participating in the First of May parade in the Red Square, I had an unforgettable meeting with Georgi Dimitrov in his office at the Central Committee of the CPSU. For the first time I met the leader and teacher of the BCP. During the meeting Georgi Dimitrov with great and exceeding cordiality told me about my father and their work together. Mentioning that he had seen me as a child, he exclaimed, "Look what you've grown up to be!" My return to Bulgaria was settled at this meeting.

[Question] Why did you choose the profession of regular military man?

[Answer] My father was a great patriot. He instilled in us a love and sense of duty. This sense and the understanding that a revolution without an armed force is doomed to failure, as well as my love of the sea, created in me as in many Bulgarians, such as Ivan Mikhaylov, Krum Buchvarov, August Kabakchiev, Kiril Kirilov, Polina Nedyalkova etc., the conviction that the Soviet Union and its armed forces were the international power that served not only to defend the Soviet Union, but also to fight for the liberation of other nations. Cadre personnel were trained there for the armed forces, including cadre for our revolution.

[Question] What are the most characteristic moments of your service in the People's Army? Describe them, citing specifically some striking examples.

[Answer] My first appointment in the Bulgarian People's Army was as class inspector (deputy chief for training affairs at the Varna Naval School). I initiated the introduction at the school of the planning of the training process patterned after the Soviet naval schools and despite the strong opposition of some instructors this planning was introduced. In the autumn of 1947 in keeping with understandings arrived at by the Bulgarian Government and the Government of the USSR, delegations headed by Georgi Dimitrov and Stalin conducted negotiations regarding the status of the naval forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, as a result of which a detachment of warships came to Varna and were given free to the Bulgarian People's Republic by the USSR. I was appointed chairman of the acceptance commission. It was a difficult, but glad task. In the spring of 1948 I was appointed chief of staff of the Black Sea Fleet. A few months later I was sent as the maritime expert of Albania to the International Court in the Hague. Great Britain was suing Albania for losses incurred by the English fleet in the Korfu Straits in Albanian territorial waters. Unknown questions in international maritime law, the previously unknown German mines and other things made my work difficult, but the case was won. The chief counsel for the Albanian side, a famous French politician Pierre Cot, declared with his characteristic humor, "This is the Bulgarian fleet's first victory against the British fleet."

After my return in 1949 the fleet was reorganized and I was appointed commander of a brigade of surface vessels. This period in the history of our Naval Fleet is characterized by the fact that a start was made on combat training according to Soviet methods, and for me personally it was a turning point in my consciousness and mentality. I restructured my thinking and activity from officer-implementer to officer-leader. The period during which I commanded the fleet (1950-1960) coincided with the time when the party was quite closely occupied with building a new army and a new fleet. To be sure, this was done with the great and selfless assistance of the Soviet Union amidst the closest fraternal friendship and assistance of the sailors of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet.

On 9 September 1950 the rank of rear admiral was conferred upon me. Fate destined me to become the first people's admiral in our country.

In 1957 an event, historic for us, took place: for the first time in the history of the Bulgarian Navy a warship flew the Bulgarian tricolor outside the confines of the Black Sea. The destroyer "Georgi Dimitrov" under my command made a voyage from Varna to Durazzo (Albania) and back, transporting a party and governmental delegation.

The USSR General Staff Academy, from which I was graduated in 1962, significantly expanded my knowledge in the area of the military sciences and the



military art and helped me fulfill my duties as a general staff officer of the Bulgarian People's Army, as Civil Defense chief of the Bulgarian People's Republic and deputy minister of national defense.

Throughout my service in the Bulgarian People's Army I have always relied on and received the assistance I needed from my old and new comrades of the Soviet Army and the Soviet Navy. My entire life thus far as a professional military man has been spent in the ranks of the Soviet fleet and the Bulgarian People's Army and has been continuous service to my two homelands--the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR.

[Question] What would you say about the friendship of men in arms? How about the maxim that this friendship is for a lifetime? Is it of short-lived significance or is it absolute in your opinion?

[Answer] A person like me who has spent 48 years (more than three-quarters of my life) in the service obviously has made friends mostly with military men and is well acquainted with the friendship of men in arms. Is there any difference between "friendship in general" and the "friendship of men in arms"? Of course, there is. The friendship of men in arms comes into being and develops under conditions where hardships involving risk to life are significantly greater and are encountered more frequently. That is why deeds of friendship under conditions in the armed forces evoke stronger emotions, leave more lasting and deeper traces, are remembered longer and evoke more cherished memories. From this point of view the friendship of men in arms is more lasting, more cherished and absolute.

[Question] What virtues do you prize most? What shortcomings do you dislike most intensely?

[Answer] I prize most conscientiousness--because it is a mark of devotion and loyalty, of honesty and industriousness, of fairness and responsibility, and shapes human dignity. I also prize greatly confidence, which is a mark of good will and belief in the good principle in man and is a stimulus to totally dedicated, energetic activity, conscientiousness and optimism.

I dislike the love of power. The power-lover tramples the human dignity of others, tyrannizes over them, inspires fear and hence hypocrisy, suspiciousness, treachery, careerism and, worst of all, apathy. All these are traits directly antithetical to my ideas of a communist. I also loathe insolence and the haughtiness that is associated with it--a mark of mental vacuity and weakness.

[Question] What personalities in Bulgaria and in the world are your idols, and for which of their virtues do they attract you?

[Answer] Levski--for his boundless love of the people, for his loyalty to "the pure and sacred republic" and for his extreme fearlessness. Georgi

Dimitrov--for his unbreakable will, his refusal to compromise, his adherence to principles, his patriotism and daring. Engels--for his modesty in his greatness, for his ability to be a comrade without equal, for his genius as scholar and encyclopedist, and for his talent of being understood and convincing. Dzerzhinskiy is for me a model "knight without fear and without reproach," a human being and a fighter, a great organizer with an ardent heart, a cool mind and clean hands. Of military men Suvorov, Ushakov, Tukhachevskiy and Rokossovskiy are examples of great, invincible captains and commanders whose military art conquered by its originality and inimitability. And their views on military pedagogy, practice and subordination have the greatest appeal for me.

And, to be sure, my father Ivan Petrov Ormanov. I can speak of him "first hand." A revolutionary with absolute loyalty to the party's cause, proverbially industrious, disciplined and modest. He treated people with great affection, pedagogical talent, nobility and optimism. He captivated me by his ability to be a model communist and human being.

[Question] What is your wish for the men and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army?

[Answer] Health, loyalty to the cause of the party and people. Scrupulous and conscientious fulfillment of their oath. A sense of internationalism and of class, discipline, victories, and much luck!

[Question] What is your personal motto (write it in your own hand)?

[Answer]

*Дълг, добросъвестност, дръзновение,  
Доверие, достойнство  
в името на Коммунизма*

*Сопел  
31.5.79.*

*Орманов*

Duty, conscientiousness, daring, confidence, dignity on behalf of communism.

Sofia, 31 May 1979

B. I. Ormanov

6474

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### PROFILE OF IVAN SLAVKOV, DIRECTOR OF BULGARIAN TELEVISION

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 4, 1979 pp 22-24

[Article by Rumyana Uzunova: "With Pen, Microphone and Camera"]

[Text] As a man of the exact sciences by education, columnist by adaptation and talent, this is perhaps the formula which would characterize the creative nature of Ivan Slavkov. He is popular to the extent that national television makes it possible. However, its possibilities are extremely great as any viewer in Bulgaria knows perfectly well. Consequently, he, as a television journalist, as author of screenplays for documentary films and feature programs, as commentator of domestic and world events, as founder of rubrics and participant in others, was able to enter in the homes of the viewers through the small screen and became their favorite not only with his sincerity but also with his skill to communicate with them on many of the most timely, acute, and most important questions of the day. His ability to communicate with the viewer, to attract his attention, to broadcast his information accessibly and to impart his conclusions convincingly is not subject to any doubt. His erudition, internal freedom, the need to concentrate without losing peripheral vision, these are some of the conditions necessary to achieve an emotional, ideological, and political impact on the "consumer" of television. And Ivan Slavkov abides by those conditions.

In fact he must have many qualities in order to become a good television commentator: eloquence, good looks, charisma, power to affect the mind and the heart of the people, logical thought and colorful language, which in their unity contribute to the persuasiveness of his word, increase his chances to "converse" with his partner, to make him forget the inquisitive eye of the camera, and the alienating coldness of the technology. Television proved to be a natural environment for him because the newspapers, magazines, even the radio could have overshadowed some of his natural talents, such as his powerful presence on the screen. But even if his possibilities have been great, they would have remained, so to say, buried in the ground without his tireless search for more information, for greater expression of speech, without the almost daily search for new forms of contacts with the viewer and of influencing him, without the constant enrichment of the political and

aesthetic culture. It is sufficient to compare the first steps of Ivan Slavkov on the screen with his present-day work of a television commentator, in order to convince ourselves of the long road that he has traveled as a creator.

Tens of problem articles, reports, sketches and interviews, have been born by his pen. The first among them were connected with the introduction of technical progress, with the improvement of the organization of labor and production. Incidentally, the knowledge of the country's economy and the development of technology, obtained at the beginning of his journalistic career and continuously supplemented, is obvious in every one of his interviews on television with leaders and executors in those two important fields of the national economy. If we turn to another side of his search as columnist—the interest in the problems of international politics, one must list as most significant among his articles on foreign policy matters his reports in RABOTNICHESKO DELO from England (which at that time was discussing its entry into the Common Market and its currency devaluation for the first time) and several articles in LITERATUREN FRONT written with a sharp political vision, temperament, and deep logical thought. These articles, as well as his later commentaries on foreign and domestic affairs (in PANORAMA and elsewhere), show not only an ability to penetrate the facts, not only a feeling for the sociopolitical climate of a country or the planet, but also a look into the future, i.e. talent for predicting the consequences of one or another phenomenon.

His knowledge of economics and politics are due not as much to the Sofia machine-electrotechnical institute, where Engineer Slavkov graduated, as to the stubborn and systematic absorption of knowledge of other, non-university sources. But the systematic approach of his search, his ability to draw logical conclusions from arguments most likely developed in him as early as his student years. Mathematics has never been superfluous for the columnist, regardless of the genre, in order to free him of the chaos of the numerous secondary whims, which are sometimes able to disturb the strength of the mental construction, to split up the thought, to cover up the basic idea. And until now (more correctly one should say: today more than ever) in all Ivan Slavkov's creative efforts (television talks, articles in the press, interviews, etc.) one feels his drive, devoid of arrogance, to a given artistic or cognitive, ideological and sociological goal. In his journalistic career he starts from the analysis toward the synthesis, from the accidental toward the causal, from the single fact toward the mass phenomenon. And this simplicity, this clarity in the selection of the separate elements which are organized in the entirety of the spoken and written word, win over the viewer and the reader more than the use of striking ambiguities and mysteries. In fact I do not remember being struck by the word of Ivan Slavkov, but he has always been able to convince me. And this result, I think, is the most important one.

A characteristic feature of his daily work as a journalist is the equivalence of the critical and positive aspects of his creative expressions. As commentator, as participant in GRAZHDANSKA TRIBUNA and in others Ivan Slavkov



is always knowledgeable, sincere, and well prepared. He tackles problems actively, freely and systematically. However, there is something else as well: in a sincere and friendly talk, without hiding the existing contradictions, the failures and the discrepancies between intention and fulfillment, he always wins the confidence of the viewer. And confidence is won in two ways: by asking questions which touch upon existing things and by answering accurately, truly and realistically. Thus, his efforts to discover the true reasons for the incompatibilities of the time, for the discrepancies of the period in question, result from the inner peculiarities of the journalist, but they are simultaneously a consequence of his conviction that the difficulties and mistakes should not be concealed. In order to eliminate them we must first point them out.

In his desire to express the new, the progressive, to defend and encourage the moral and humane values, Ivan Slavkov made a score of interesting broadcasts. Of particular importance is the series Komsomol Report to the party, with him simultaneously as director and script writer. Conceived as impressive report to the party on the results achieved in work and school, in science and culture, this television series attracted in its ten parts more than a hundred representatives of various strata of the youth, workers, students, military men, Komsomol workers--the lucky ones whose Komsomol identity cards numbers were drawn. The result was a true picture of the Komsomol youth, not a staged one. Ivan Slavkov succeeded in such a manner that the participants were able to give a true picture of their contemporary feelings, their problems, needs, and aspirations, and of their achievements and their dreams.

These broadcasts were very important in strengthening the tendency to eliminate the affectation and pompous style which are repulsive to the viewer, in bringing to television natural and simple speech, and orienting it toward real life--true, natural and uninhibited. An additional step was made in another direction as well: to reduce, even to eliminate the distance between the viewer and the television. The viewer saw himself on television and felt at ease. The Komsomol Report to the Party seems to have proved that there are no gray young people, that there are no faceless people, that everybody is interesting in his own way.

Many people have said that the atmosphere brightens when Ivan Slavkov enters the studio. The people are more relaxed, more sure of themselves and his unaffected manner dispels their fear of the camera. And under such conditions one works normally and fast, the communication between him and the journalist become complete, not only superficial. Ivan Slavkov brings an atmosphere of work with him. From the Komsomol Report to the Party, GRAZHDANSKA TRIBUNA, PANORAMA, THE WORLD IN ACTION, and from many others which he has directed and participated in, there emerges more and more clearly one important feature of his journalistic character, i.e. the environment of trust and quiet working relations between the partners on the screen which helps to extract from the partner all that interests and stimulates the viewer. And this is definitely not insignificant. Without it the television commentator will face many failures and will soon be doomed. But we cannot credit this success

only to nature. It is true that Ivan Slavkov is very sociable; it is obvious at first glance. But at second glance, when listening to him, one notices his knowledge of all problems, his alertness and skill at improvisation.

In his extensive travels Ivan Slavkov has succeeded in being at the center of political events, at bringing fresh news, sharing interesting impressions, not superficial but deeply meaningful. His thorough knowledge of the political situation makes his comments accurate, precise, clever and politically geared. He always obtains the facts straight from the source. It is obvious in the programs not only from the pictures but also from his words that he has been there, on the spot, and seen everything. He brings out from the place not only information about the status of the social forces and the tendencies for future changes but also the smell, the color and the taste of it. As is known television assignments do not last a long time; in a short time one must get the feel of the real situation with its events and confrontations, meet notable political leaders, talk with them about most pertinent matters, and predispose them to be sincere. This requires an exceptional energy and, of course, basic preliminary preparation. In this respect the "foreign" films of Ivan Slavkov are also an important line in his portrait as a creator.

Scores of documentaries (and three series of the Blue Lamp serial) were based on screenplays by Ivan Slavkov, or with Georgi Stoychev (Opus 8088) as co-author, or with Zakhari Ivanov--about Siberia and Cuba, and with Khristo Tsachnev--about Mexico. And some more: about Northern Ireland, Vietnam, the United States, about the distant and the close-by, about the unknown, and about that which surrounds us. There is a new idea in each one of them. For "Opus 8038" Ivan Slavkov recieved one of the four awards at the Leipzig festival, and Georgi Dimitrov's personality was brought to the foreground with all its intellectual energy and political strength. The television broadcast about Mexico stressed the present events and problems. This is also one of the important characteristics of Ivan Slavkov's journalistic style, to look mainly for the present in his projection for the future rather than to project the past into the present. In other words, he draws his basic analogies about the present not through historical examples, but instead looks more for the simultaneity in the impact of the factors which determine our time, i.e. politics, economics, and the culture of a given country. The youth festival in Cuba during the summer of 1978 incited Ivan Slavkov's interest as a screenplay writer (as well as journalist, and participant in the action) for six films centered around the topics: the revolution, Cuba before, Cuba at present, Cuba which moves forward. But even in this case it was not as much the exotic, the unusual, the strange for the Bulgarian viewer which had attracted the script writers and the director Ivan Komitov, but the truth about people who celebrate the 20th anniversary of their revolution.

But if we could put a single topic in first place, a topic which is constantly in the creative plans and continuously finds its new dimensions and new ideas in the creative consciousness of Ivan Slavkov, this is the topic about the Soviet Union. He has already made several films about the great Soviet land,

but the most representative among them is the one about Siberia (together with Zakhari Ivanov), which found its worthy place in the rubric "The World in Action." It opens before our eyes a Siberia with its raw laws, laws of true human values. We saw the North of the valor and manliness, of the faith and perseverance in building and commissioning the Baikal-Amur Mainline. A film--truthful and unadulterated, created with love and understanding, with participation and feeling.

Incidentally, the coauthorship with Zakhari Ivanov proved to be quite fruitful. The joint efforts bore not only films but also two books, which were received with interest and attention. While in the "Direction Towards the Future," the first collection of its kind on the young creative intelligentsia, the functions of the two coauthors are more of a compiling nature, they appear in "Descent Into the Unknown" as columnists.

In their book on Siberia the documentary material is by itself sufficiently imposing to have an impact, to create an interest, to impress even only with the dry voice of facts and figures. But the authors recreate it in such a manner that the interest is increased twofold, as they know how to present events and people, successes and failures, and their own impressions of the effect created on others. As coauthors the two storytellers complement each other; the sharp journalistic reflex and commentator's pathos of Ivan Slavkov with the poetic-intimate adaptation of the romantic recourse of Zakhari Ivanov. In the last analysis the result is a single author, a book without dissonance, without stylistic syncopes, without lacerations in the emotional coloring and in the tonality of the narration. Varied and unified at the same time, engaging and cognitive, lyrical and factual, the book by Ivan Slavkov and Zakhari Ivanov is not simply an exhaustive travel-log or a scrupulous documentation. "Descent Into the Unknown" is temperamental political journalism, in which the ideas strongly tie together the individual narrative links, while the content has found the most appropriate form of expression, influentially engaging and attractively diversified.

But without question the most imposing documentary television work of Ivan Slavkov is the 35-part series of the film "On the Hills of Time." It is dedicated to the anniversary of the 9 September victory. Ivan Slavkov, as screenplay writer of this film, has revived our most recent history, while Mladen Mladenov, the director, has correctly interpreted Slavkov's intentions. The plot inspires obvious respect with the strict simplicity of its idea, with its wide range and abundance of interesting moments.

As we have already pointed out, each part is centered around an important event of Bulgaria's history or around significant achievements in the social and economic development of the country. With a very ambitious intention--to trace the historic development of Bulgaria in the past 35 years--this film stands as an example of Ivan Slavkov's political thought as well as of the strictness with which he selects, discards the superfluous, separates, as one says, the seeds from the weeds. With insufficient material for some of the parts and too much for others, he has selected moments which present most truthfully and most widely our past, with its pathos and trivialities.



His idea to call in the studio some of the ordinary people and film them is not just a whim. It is an expression of a highly humanitarian, communist position on the protection of man, on the one who creates history. In spite of the many repetitions, the effect of the still is always exceptionally powerful, as it is followed by scenes showing the person from the film in his appearance, in his present environment. Each new appearance of the "film participants" in their everyday life in "On the Hills of Time" draws the attention of the viewer not with any unusual, unexpected transformations, but with the truth about the life of the person, about the time distance, and the accomplishments and failures during this period. The documentation, as past and as a "picture" of the present-day life is the strongest element of the film. But, it would not have been so had it [documentation] not been firmly bound to the creative intention of Ivan Slavkov, that is, to find the significant, the principal element without which Bulgaria could not have been a country with self-confidence and with genuine reasons for this self-confidence.

And yet, what is the most characteristic feature of Ivan Slavkov's creative image, that transpires from his writing? Maybe the most important thing, the one that directs his search is his irresistible interest in "live life," in what is being created and changes around us with each new day and hour. His sharp reflex to "contemporaneity" makes him an active participant in the events through his direct journalistic participation, through the magic of his pen and word. No doubt his attention is attracted mainly by events occurring in Bulgaria, but he is also able to tackle international developments, to weigh the processes, to sort out the real values, to find the causes and effects of all conflicts.

Ivan Slavkov is in the prime of his creative life, in the time when he is no longer attracted by accidental whims; when he carefully and deliberately searches for his topic, his place; when he applies his experience of his early youth, supplements it and organizes it with the deeper understanding of a man of over 33 years of age. Not only in "On the Hills of Time" not even in his most accidental participation in the television broadcasts during the recent years, one can see clearly that his youthful enthusiasm is still there, but it has blended with the wisdom and experience of age, and has been enriched by his enormous knowledge and masterful professionalism. He had started as one of the many ambitious and active Bulgarian young journalists with thoughts fanned by the April wind, but now, with pen, microphone and camera, he has won one of the most meritorious places not only within his generation but also among all his colleagues. However, he can claim that he has not yet realized even half of his potential, that he has not yet reached even the half of his creative life.

1010

CSO: 2300

'L'HUMANITE' REPORTS DISSIDENT'S STATEMENTS ON SUPPORT FROM PCF

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 22 Jun 79 p 10 LD

[Unattributed report: "Zdenek Mlynar Press Conference"]

[Text] During a press conference in Paris yesterday Zdenek Mlynar, one of Charter 77's founders, discussed the fate of 42 Czechoslovak citizens being detained or prosecuted for their opinions. In particular he stressed the importance of international support. In this connection he said, "I am very happy to have had talks at PCF Central Committee headquarters. The context of these talks was reported to the PCF leadership. Various steps were envisaged. It is up to the PCF to choose the form and nature of these steps and to make them public or not."

In reply to a question, Zdenek Mlynar explained that the talks took place at his request and that he had been received by Central Committee member Gerard Stjeiff.

He expressed the hope that these reports "will not be exploited for political, partisan purposes as was the case during the visit made by Sabata's son." This visit provided certain publications such as L'EXPRESS and LE MATIN with a pretext for an anti-PCF campaign.

"This matter," Zdenek Mlynar pointed out, "has nothing to do with a shabby, political operation. It concerns the nature of detente and adherence to the principles contained in the Helsinki Declaration. We call for the help of all democrats and their support for all those who are persecuted in Czechoslovakia because they are fighting for human rights to be respected."

He stressed the importance and effectiveness of the PCF's attitude. Indeed, in accordance with this concern for effectiveness, after the talks which Comrade Gerard Stjeiff had with Zdenek Mlynar the PCF leadership decided, in the spirit of the 23d Congress, to approach the CPCZ.

CSO: 3100

CHARTER 77 PROMINENTS PUBLISH OPEN LETTERS

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 22 Jun 79 p 8

[Letters by Zdena Tominova and Julius Tomin: "Czechoslovakia: 'Was It Supposed To Be Murder, Mr President?'" ]

[Text] The physical abuse and the torment goes on: Two open letters from Zdena Tominova, spokeswoman for the Charter 77 human rights movement, and her husband Julius Tomin, a scientist who has been forbidden to practice his profession, tell of the life-threatening oppression being practiced by the Czechoslovak security organs.

Prague, 6 June 1979 -- On 30 May I realized that I was being watched: No matter where I went, several untiring pedestrians and men in automobiles were always following me. They kept their distance but did not let me out of their sight. It had gone on like this until yesterday. I assumed that they were State Security agents -- guardians of the law, that is -- and therefore was not afraid. Apparently I was completely mistaken, for the following events clearly show that a mafia was at work here, one that was unfamiliar and incomprehensible, but well organized.

Yesterday, 5 June, I left the house around 1900 hours (I live at 3 Kernaická Street in the Letna section of Prague) intending to visit my friend Jiri Grusa and his wife Ivanka in the new Novodvorska housing development. As I was getting off the streetcar at the Hradcanska subway station, I saw a dark-blue Renault that I had become very familiar with in recent days. A tall, thin young man in a beige shirt and light-blue jacket jumped out of the car and ran to the subway entrance; he took a seat in the same car and then accompanied me to my friends' apartment, where some old acquaintances were already to be found: the dark-blue Renault (license number ABZ 36-84) and a brown Schiguli or Moskvich (ABZ 49-27).

Two men got out and took up posts in front of the building. I stayed until about 2200 hours. Waiting for me at the bus stop on the way home was the young man with the light-blue jacket; together we rode to the State Planning

Office building. I got off and walked home. At Strossmayer Square I saw the two cars again.

From Letenske Square I usually take Smeralova Street. but this time I noticed that the street was blocked by a car that was parked crosswise with its headlights on -- I felt uneasy about this somehow, so I went on to the next cross-street, Cechova.

As I was approaching the house I noticed a light in the basement workshop, although usually no one is there at night. Unsuspecting, I went up the steps. The right half of the front door to the building was open (as it almost always is). No light was on. As I went to push the door handle on the lefthand side, I gave a start: Behind that part of the door stood a tall, rugged man (perhaps 1.80 meters tall). At first I stared at his dark-blue or black sweater with red stripes; then I saw something that I had seen only in low-grade detective stories: An ugly face with no contours looked menacingly down at me -- the man had pulled a nylon stocking over his face. I was terrified, and I am no longer sure of what happened after that. I think I started to scream. The man leaped at me, and somehow I must have been able to run into the street. He grabbed me, threw me to the ground and banged my head on the pavement several times. I probably kept on screaming. The man must then have gotten up and run away. It was only afterwards that I remembered having shouted the word "help" several times. People came crowding around; they were leaving the movie theater (it was a little past 1030 hours) and saw the man running off in the direction of Stromovka Park.

The first police car came in about 5 or 10 minutes and immediately set off in pursuit of the man. Then a limousine (a Tatra 603) and other police vehicles arrived. The driver of the limousine asked me to go with him. I insisted that witnesses be taken along as well. He used the telephone in the car and then drove two witnesses to the police station on Krizik Street; he took me to the first-aid station. There it was determined that I had a concussion and I was driven to the "Na Frantisku" Hospital.

It appears that the doctors have received instructions from the police not to engage in conversations with me and to allow no visitors. Apart from tranquilizers -- which, by the way, have had little or no effect -- no other examinations have been performed (an X-ray of my skull was taken last night). On rounds today the doctors walked by my bed almost without a word.

I am unable to sleep and am having severe headaches. I must also have suffered a shock. I am not yet sure how to deal with what happened yesterday. Did they intend to kill me? Rob me? Or intimidate me in this brutal way?

Tomorrow I am going to demand to be released. This is because my stay here might be more for reasons of internment than medical treatment. Please, everyone, try to visit me here so that we can tell whether there really is

a no-visitors policy. If they cite my physical condition as an argument, it is only an excuse.

[Signed:] Zdena Tomínová

Prague, 6 June 1979 -- Last night about an hour after midnight, my wife, a spokeswoman for Charter 77, was attacked by a masked man.... Since Tuesday, 29 May 1979, the day on which the members of the Committee for the Defense of Innocent Victims of Persecution were arrested, my wife has been followed everywhere by a number of cars full of men in civilian clothes who have been taking turns shadowing her on foot or using public transportation.... The civilians on foot have been keeping in touch with those in the automobiles and with one another by means of well-concealed walkie-talkies. On one of these days I walked with my wife as far as Karlsplatz and was able to observe the entire operation. I have been familiar with this kind of thing since last summer when I myself was shadowed in a similar way during the Fifth All-Christian Peace Convention that was held in Prague. Summoned to the Interior Ministry, I was confronted by an older man who boasted that he had ordered this whole surveillance operation of several days duration and had directed it himself.

Mr President, was it supposed to be murder?

I was not at home; I was on night duty. As a rule I get home from the night shift somewhat earlier than the other residents of the building. If my wife had been murdered, I would have been the first to find her body. Was I supposed to be accused of murder?

It would not have been the first attempt at a false accusation: On 21 August 1978, members of the secret State Security Service approached me while on night duty under the pretext of investigating vandalism involving an automobile. The car had been vandalized on our street early on that same day, and I was supposed to have been seen near it....

In the evening of the same day, a member of the government's secret police told me that I ought to watch out and stop my active involvement. Otherwise, some tougher customers might step in, and I would end up face up in the gutter.

Mr President, the situation in our country has become very serious following the imprisonment of 10 members of the committee. Are we all supposed to live in terror from now on? Those from the Interior Ministry are doing as they wish with us. No one resists them except for a few Charter 77 people. Would you like an example?

On the eve of 1 May 1979, State Security agents dragged me off to their local office and left me there for 16 hours before dragging me back again.



I was carted off with the cooperation of the deputy director of the Zoological Garden. Interior Ministry functionaries have made no comment on the entire affair. How many more examples should I give?

Mr President, the existential pressure that is being exerted on every citizen of this country -- where being fired represents the first punishment for the slightest attempt on the part of a citizen to insist on his human rights and his dignity as a human being -- is preventing a broader citizens' action movement from keeping watch over the activity of the security organs and our judicial system.

Given this situation, any attempt to cover up the arrest of 10 members of the Committee for the Defense of Innocent Victims of Persecution can have dire consequences for our country's entire development.

I call upon you once again to use the full weight of your personality and your position to see to the release of those 10 who have been arrested.

Should the 10 imprisoned members of the Committee for the Defense of Innocent Victims of Persecution not be released within 1 month, I shall start a 2-week hunger strike beginning on 6 June 1979.

[Signed:] Julius Tomin

7458  
CSO: 2300

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### PRAGUE DISSIDENTS' ARRESTS DETAILED

#### Zdena Tominova in Clinic

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Jun 79 p 1

[Article by E. L.: "Call for Help From Clinic by 'Charter 77' Spokesperson"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 8 June--Zdena Tominova, who until Tuesday was the last free spokesperson of "Charter 77," the Czechoslovak human rights movement, and who was assaulted and mistreated Tuesday night on her way home to her apartment in Prague by a masked, unidentified man and has been in Na Frantisku Hospital in Prague since then, succeeded in smuggling from the clinic a call for help to her friends. In it the human-rights activist complains about the fact that in her opinion her stay in the clinic, where she was transported by the police after the assault, suffering from a brain concussion, seemed more like an internment than medical treatment.

#### Dana Nemcova Arrested

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Jun 79 p 4

[Article by E. L.: "Mother of Seven Children Arrested in Prague: Dana Nemcova Dared To Defend Human Rights"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 8 June--In an obvious attempt to crush for good the "Charter 77" human-rights movement, the communist regime in Czechoslovakia now no longer shrinks even from arresting women, some of whom are joining their husbands in publicly advocating the guarantee of human and civil rights in the country, and in this manner whole families are torn apart. One of three women who were arrested together with seven other human-rights activists within the framework of a wave of arrests ordered by Prague at the beginning of June is Dana Nemcova, the wife of Jiri Nemec, a Prague psychologist. Dana Nemcova is 43 years old and the mother of seven children, some of whom are still in need of care. The arrest of Dana Nemcova is particularly tragic since nobody is currently looking after the children because Jiri Nemec was also arrested at the same time. In the eyes of the Prague regime, Mrs Nemcova's main crime is the fact that she is one of the



cosignatories of "Charter 77," and on 1 October 1977 she also signed an open letter to Husak, president of Czechoslovakia, as well as to the Federal Assembly, which called attention to the oppression of believers in the country.

Dana Nemcova, however, even dared to offer day-to-day resistance and to defend her civil rights as provided by the Czechoslovak constitution. To be sure, although she has a degree in child psychology, she could do nothing about the fact that--like many dissidents--she had to work in an occupation which is foreign to her and poorly paid; but her persistence, among other things, paid off when her second-oldest daughter was able to take the final secondary-school examination, against the explicit opposition of the authorities and under more difficult conditions. For instance, according to reliable information, Mrs Nemcova courageously contacted her daughter's homeroom teacher and the principal of the school in June of last year, after her daughter had been asked one week before her final examination to come to the police department, where it was strongly recommended to her that she forego the final secondary-school examination. Mrs Nemcova succeeded in getting a promise from both teachers that the school would not cooperate with the police. Since it was impressed upon Dana Nemcova's daughter during the interrogation by the police that there were ways to keep her from taking the examination, the human-rights activist, now in custody, decided to spend the night before the examination away from home with her daughter to make sure that she could get to school the next morning without difficulties. Dana Nemcova's mistrust in the authorities was well-founded, particularly when it turned out that a few hours before the beginning of the examination the police appeared at her house without finding the candidate they were looking for. The daughter passed the examination with a good grade.

Preceding the last Christmas and Easter holidays, Dana Nemcova organized a symbolic hunger strike to protest the arrest of young people, who on this account were separated from their families during these two holidays. Each time, 200 dissidents and fearless Catholics had joined her protest.

For a long time before his arrest, Jiri Nemec as well, 46-years old and father of the devoutly Catholic family, had already been paying for his open criticism of the regime. As a consequence, Jiri Nemec, who for many years was one of the best-known psychologists in the area of logotherapy at the University of Prague, has had to work as a guard in a warehouse for the last few years to contribute to the upkeep of his family.

8991

CSO: 2300

NORTH MORAVIA KRAJ DISCUSSING NEW METHODS OF MANAGEMENT

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 May 79 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Zdobina: "For High Efficiency of Whole Enterprises"]

[Text] Leading officials of the North Moravia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ recently published several articles with extensive reports on new methods of work initiative (several of which are expected to spread throughout the republic in the same way as the movement entitled "Overcome Yourself and Persevere"). However, attentive readers could not fail to notice that Ostrava is planning still another surprise. This was hinted, for example, in the following statement: "...we consider it essential to upgrade the management and organization of work." The leading secretary of the CPCZ kraj committee, Comrade M. Mamula, offered the best clue when in the conclusion of his article he stressed that "on the basis of its experience in the management of initiative" Ostrava now intended "to develop it further in the spirit of the conclusions of the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee under the slogan "From Top Quality of Work of Individuals and Collectives Toward High Efficiency of the Whole Enterprise!"

This slogan may be explained in that sense that the North Moravia kraj organization of the party intends to set the initiative on a broader platform than thus far and to give it new qualities, in other words, to advance from records and outstanding performances by individuals and collectives and to extend them to whole enterprises which must operate more efficiently; it is focusing attention on managing operations more than ever before.

And so it is! We may add one more thing in this context, namely, that the North Moravia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ is planning a meeting which will deal particularly with problems of upgrading the management within the enterprise.

Topics of that sort probably never before appeared on the agenda of any kraj committee of the party. Furthermore, this issue is extremely challenging from the political and professional points of view. Thus far, it has not been studied in depth; the printer's ink has hardly had a chance to dry in the first college textbook on economy in the management of socialist industrial enterprises.

Why has the CPCZ kraj committee in Ostrava chosen precisely this difficult task? After all, North Moravia could bask in the indisputable success of the workers in its industry! They are fulfilling their tasks in production quite well and it seems that the losses stemming from the winter season will be made up in that kraj and there is a chance that it will be 1 percent ahead of the plan by the middle of this year.

However, this is how the situation looks today and maybe tomorrow, but how about next year or the year after that? Every good manager must think of the future and face its demands and trends of development.

When the North Moravia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ made such an assessment, problems stressed in all meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee dealing with economic issues emerged before it with much greater urgency and in a specific form.

The most significant of them may be the information that the quality of management inside the enterprises has been lagging behind the level of new techniques and technological revolution that are being introduced in plants and enterprises. The consequences of that lag are negatively reflected particularly in quality and efficiency. If there is no chance, the "scissors" would open wider with all resulting ramifications. The North Moravia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ could have waited for provisions from the center and rely on the economic experiment of control of quality and efficiency, but as it began considering further development of working people's initiative, it kept encountering the same problem again and again--the shortcomings in the process of management.

However, there were some other problems that forced the kraj committee to turn in the above-mentioned direction. In order to fulfill the tasks in production, for example, productivity of work in the managing sector must increase, according to calculation, twice as fast as in the area of production--and meanwhile we are still struggling to change the way of thinking of evidently most workers in economy who, despite the economic trends, are adhering to the extensive interpretation of development, which is a concept with characteristically high consumption of power, raw materials, investments and other resources.

Ostrava is ready to tackle the problems in the management of enterprises because it has studied the methods of their solution for quite a long time. It began to deal with them practically ever since the news about the first record achievements appeared in the press. That fact is not widely known and the "credit" for it is due, unfortunately, also to economic propaganda which has done much to make the recordbreakers popular but which ignored the merit of the organizers of such records--the technicians, engineers and other technical and administrative personnel. However, they have always been appreciated in Ostrava and in the process of their study and generalization a logical progress was made from the record stope operations, at the machine, and partial forms of initiative to a slogan already expressing the program to achieve high efficiency of whole enterprises.

As a significant landmark of the efforts to raise the management in North Moravia enterprises to the level of the progress of the scientific technological revolution and development of the working people's initiative, we may consider the decision of the CPCZ kraj committee issued toward the end of 1977, which assigned 94 enterprises the task of preparing the Program for Development of Systems of Management for the remaining years of this five-year plan and for the subsequent period of transition to the next five-year plan. At the same time the CPCZ kraj committee planned to ascertain whether the "level of the systems of management guaranteed successful fulfillment of the planned tasks in the future."

Nobody expected miracles or new scientific accomplishments, however, the programs failed to meet even the expectations of the CPCZ kraj committee. The actions of the kraj committee of the party stirred up some enterprises, able directors rapidly grasped their implications--nevertheless, most enterprises were convinced that "they do not have any informed notion of the further development of systems of management as a whole, not even of its essential sectors."

However, it was far enough from just to sum up the facts. The CPCZ kraj committee appointed a team of politically and scientifically qualified experts who began reviewing the programs in greater depth. This team deserves the credit for providing the CPCZ kraj committee with a comprehensive analysis of the level of the management in the key enterprises of that kraj, so that it was later able to assess the most suitable, and according to all qualifications, the most efficient ways leading to improved managing methods.

Such a development of events surprised the enterprises. They thought that the "storm" stirred up around the problems of management would calm down and everything would be as peaceful as it used to be in many places following previous decisions of the CPCZ kraj committee dealing with the need to expand the scope of innovations, the exploitation of basic funds, increasing export capacities, etc.

Naturally, progress was evident even there, but not as great as the present time and the future demand. The kraj committee of the CPCZ admitted this fact with impressive candor, stating that "if a chance for the better does not take place in the sector of management, further breakdowns in the fulfillment of the appointed tasks may occur, considering the current rapid rate of development of the material-technical base."

With this in mind, the North Moravia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ had to study the level of party work in enterprises just as thoroughly. It had to because the committee is about to announce a slogan which is supposed to generate and inspire a new, bigger wave of initiative and it is absolutely necessary for the party management to be the first to master and to be ahead of the economic management.

Because the kraj committee of the party in Ostrava intends to intervene in favor of quality of management, it has informed the superior instances



in enterprises, i.e., administrations of economic production units, of its plan. It failed to achieve results that had seemed self-evident. Although the CPCZ kraj committee provided that many essential tasks in the kraj might be resolved without any major investments in the material-technical base, or in other words, by better management the economic production units were more helpful in words than in deeds.

This turned into another lesson which set the direction for the planning of the meeting of the CPCZ kraj committee--that "the party must intensify pressure to improve the systems of management and mobilize all available reserves for the fulfillment of appointed tasks."

As the keynote for the planned meeting of the CPCZ kraj committee may be considered the words of the secretary of the party's kraj committee, Comrade Z. Krc, who declared: "We want to determine the most favorable forms and methods of management by activating the entire managing sector for better application of scientific methods of management as well as for upgrading the managing process on the basis of an efficient division of labor."

This is, as they say, a hard nut to crack, and the solution to this difficult problem is not up to the CPCZ kraj committee alone. The kraj committee took another unusual step. It requested the cooperation of deputy ministers of certain federal ministries, of the workers in the apparatus of the CPCZ Central Committee, leading officials of the Governmental Committee for Problems of Planned National Economic Management, the State Planning Commission, the Czechoslovak Scientific Technological Association and research institutes. It appointed 17 workteams; it is organizing discussions and interviews with individuals who received awards and commendations, as well as economic conferences of the party.

The CPCZ kraj committee in Ostrava is perfectly well acquainted with all current technical literature and with the ideas of Soviet management experts, especially with those of Academician V. M. Glushkov, V. G. Afansiev and others.

To put it briefly, the strategy and tactics for the process of solving the problem which the party in Ostrava has begun to tackle were analyzed in every detail.

Since we described the genesis of the problem, its causes and the method of its solution as intended by the CPCZ kraj committee, now it is time to answer the question which must have occurred to the reader: Why is a party organ getting ready to take steps to upgrade management and why is it not done by professional, economic and managing organs, since it is primarily their duty?

We have mentioned that time waits for no one and its passage seems to be gaining speed. The problems of management of enterprises may already be in the forefront of the theoreticians' interest; however, practical operation is already in need of immediate advice, and that advice must be absolutely



specific. Furthermore, economic management has not only a technical but also a social aspect. If management lags, all socioeconomic progress may be retarded.

It is true that the North Moravia Kraj Committee of the CPCZ had to take some risks. It is trying to cope with them, proceeding from the principle that the system of management in North Moravia Kraj is part of a higher system of management of our whole society; it supports active efforts of the center to improve planned management and has proposed suggestions for that improvement.

The next session of the CPCZ kraj committee promises to be most interesting--and not just for the North Moravia kraj! After all, in Ostrava they are using new methods to resolve the same problems that have afflicted also other krajs, areas and practically every ministry. Therefore, the slogan "From Top-Quality Work of Individuals and Collectives Toward High Efficiency of the Whole Enterprise" may generate broader response.

9004

CSO: 2400

## BRIEFS

'PRAVO' COMMENTS ON PRC-SRV TALKS--Prague--Vietnam has not once proved that it wishes to maintain good relations with China but no one can want it to accept the Chinese dictate, to give up its independent foreign political orientation and its allies, RUDE PRAVO wrote here today. Commenting on the second round of the talks of the Vietnamese and Chinese government delegations in Beijing, the paper said that the Vietnamese side had presented a three-point constructive program at the talks in Hanoi. It has brought to Beijing a new initiative proposal for signing an agreement in which both countries would pledge not to carry out any subversive activity and spying on the territory of the other state, and not to allow any actions which would endanger the other side. Vietnam dismisses as entirely unfounded and false the claim of the Chinese delegate at the Beijing talks that Vietnam is making extensive preparation for an aggressive war against China, that the Vietnamese are penetrating to the Chinese territory and killing Chinese citizens. The proposal to sign an agreement ensuring peace on the Chinese-Vietnamese border is a test of the sincerity of the Chinese side--whether it really wants peace between the two countries. But neither the situation on the border where China is concentrating big quantities of its troops nor the situation at the negotiating table evidence China's desire to live in peace. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 2 Jul 79 LD]

'PRAVO' ON VIETNAM REFUGEES--Prague--The bourgeois press has lately been choking with sorrow over the "hard lot of people leaving their homeland" and accusing the Vietnamese government of heartlessness and cruelty, RUDE PRAVO said today, meaning refugees from South Vietnam who, due to revolutionary changes, lost their privileged position. The paper recalled an important fact that a whole generation in South Vietnam was educated in the spirit of fanatic anti-communism and its opinions, thinking and way of life can naturally not have changed in the short 4 years since the liberation. Vietnamese authorities not only make possible legal departure for those who wish to go but also, in cooperation with the UN, to provide for them favourable conditions in countries where they want to go. The Western press, however, does not write about this humane attitude of the

Vietnam government, the daily said. It pointed out that the anti-Vietnamese campaign has been mounted mainly by rightist circles in the U.S. and their Beijing allies, and added that a good deal of impudence is needed for the bourgeois and Maoist propaganda to accuse the Vietnam government of "violating human rights" when imperialism and lately also Maoism caused this situation. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0810 GMT 29 Jun 79 LD]

'PRAVO' COMMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN--Prague--"The enemies of the Afghan revolution evidently do not want to become reconciled with the fact that the country definitely ceased to be the domain of reaction and an appendage of imperialism," RUDE PRAVO wrote today. In connection with the growing tension on the Afghan-Pakistani border and the propaganda campaigns of the U.S. and the Chinese embassies in Kabul against the legitimate government in Afghanistan, the daily said that the forces of the revolution and the attractiveness of its program will prove in the present severe test their supremacy over the forces of the counterrevolution. The determination of the Afghan people to defend their revolutionary achievements meets with expressions of active solidarity. One of the most significant actions will be an international conference of solidarity to be held in Kabul in the nearest future by the World Peace Council, the daily wrote. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0826 GMT 29 Jun 79 LD]

MEDIA COMMENTS ON MUSLIM ACTIVITIES--The terrorist attack on the cadets of the Military Artillery Academy in Halabu, northern Syria, which had demanded the sacrifice of 32 human lives and resulted in 32 people being wounded, has evoked great indignation in the Arab world, and a new wave of criticism was leveled at the extremist terrorist groups that are concealing their activities under the cover of religion. The Muslim Brotherhood, which conceals its activities under the cover of Islam, has chosen terror for its actions, and now, within the framework of the American-Egyptian-Israeli plot, it wants to weaken Syria's positions and to divert the attention of the Arab world from the plot aimed against the Palestinian cause. The government party's paper AL-BAATH recalls, among other things, the words said by the Egyptian president, who quite recently threatened that he "would change Syria into a sea of blood" and stressed in that connection, that after Syria's refusal to participate in the imperialist-Zionist plot against the Arab people, the imperialists had begun to foment religious unrest, so as to provoke dissension among the people. [Text] [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 26 Jun 79 p 7 AU]

CSO: 2400

WEST GERMAN SPECULATIONS ON LOYALTY OF GDR YOUTH

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German No 23, 8 Jun 79 p 4

[Article by Karl Willy Beer: "In East Berlin: A Festival of Superficiality-- The True Extent of GDR Youths' Loyalty Has Not Been Revealed by the Free German Youth (FDJ) Whitsuntide Rally in the 'Capital of the GDR'"]

[Text] The facade was impressive--even more than at Hitler's mass rallies, because, in marching past the party officials' reviewing stand, a half million young people overplayed order and discipline with songs, pennants and waving cloths. Satisfaction could be seen on the face of Erich Honecker, today's state and party leader, who, next to his rather bored-looking fellow party officials, sat through the hours-long parade by SED youth in a white suit. It showed all over him, it was as clear as day, that even today, 30 years later, the former FDJ leader of many years could depend on this GDR youth.

The 17,000 "organizational assistants and security forces," who were given training for weeks to deal with any disruption of the youth festival, were, of course, not needed by Honecker when, in 1973, during the "World Youth Festival," which was likewise celebrated in East Berlin, the entire communist-socialist youth of the world showed up supposedly ready to talk with everyone. Just 2 years ago at a "National Youth Festival" on Berlin's Alexanderplatz, when the People's Police had to take up arms against peaceful young people, it then became clear to even the most unsuspecting among the communist party leaders that the following thesis was no longer true and had not been for some time: Even if we cannot be certain of middle-aged and older people, youth is unqualifiedly ours.

Did Honecker convince even the skeptics in his own ranks? That cannot be unambiguously determined, even after the triumphant march from all over the GDR. Efforts, which failed because of Western protest, not to let West Berliners and West Germans through the wall into the Eastern city during the "overcrowding" speak against this idea. The fact that West Berliners and West Germans aged between 18 and 30 were turned back at the crossing points when they tried to go to the East with a valid visa also speaks against this. This is also refuted by the program which was crammed full

to the last minute with obligatory events, a program that did not permit the slightest opportunity for personal inquiries or even conversations. It is also refuted by the action of putting the boys and girls, who were carted from the provinces in group transports, into fixed groups of cadre, about 50-strong, which had their assigned attendants.

### A Visit to the "Capital"

It is true that the young people brought in from Thuringia, Mecklenburg, Saxony and other GDR bezirks were pressing to come to Berlin. Authorization for the rally in Berlin was an essential factor in the obligation for subsequent admission to university studies. In addition to that, there was the increasing fascination for every young person: In Berlin, as nowhere else in the GDR, you can sense the nearness of the other world, the West. Since it is in fact the youth who remain locked in the GDR without mercy--unless they should leave the Eastern bloc as a member of a delegation--hope for encounters with the West is never as great as it is on a trip to the "capital."

But it was the main task of the festival's organizers to avoid just this encounter. And even if this certainly could not be flawlessly successful, at least the big parade in the Lustgarten, today the Marx-Engels-Platz, had to make up for it by way of tribute to the "socialist state." The organizers can be satisfied--if they count the spectacle in the streets that were lined with forces to keep order. They perhaps scornfully took note of the march by 7,000 "Falcons" through West Berlin's former workers quarter--a march that was comparatively sluggish and was affected by the heat, if, in this connection, they thought of their hundreds of thousands. Yet the "German Workers Youth Meeting" of the socialist Falcons in West Berlin, which took place at the same time, cannot be cited as representative of youth in the free part of Germany.

This is also a source of difficulties if one wants to compare youth over there with youth over here. The reason is surely not that the pluralism in our society leads both to polarization and indifference. No one in Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt or West Berlin desires a mass rally by all those whom we call our youth. A democracy has many forms of expressions of opinion on tap; it does not need to be expressed in concealed, secret opposition. But where expressions of opinion that do not agree with the decreed slogans are disparaged as criminal, a great deal, in fact, everything, can be concealed behind the drums and banners of mass rallies.

Even the laughing faces of the young people, which television in the East had no need to cut down on, guarantee no agreement on the part of those laughing with those who take such to be agreement. Anyone who bears in mind that people in the GDR have known the right to freedom only on paper since 1933, i.e., for 46 years, will not be shocked if one-half million 16-30 years olds take a mass rally in the Lustgarten as a welcome change from everyday life. Even the Berlin FDJ, which always gets its knowledge of



the world from television in the West, again and again revealed modest beginnings toward modifying their uniform appearance with a few accessories, which in the West are the usual thing.

#### Reconciliation with Rock and Pop

If meanwhile long hair and heavy beards have been half-heartedly accepted by the government in the East, the girls have obviously not yet succumbed to the frowzy feminist look which here at home is, on the part of many young people, proof of the "right to self-realization." Yet even with the reconciliation with pop and rock, which for a long time were outlawed in the East, only one safety valve was opened, only to close up all the more solidly other escape hatches into the free world.

SED youth was supposed to appear as a generation which follows smoothly in the footsteps of its communist founding fathers. In the West there was for many years the prevailing fear that the communists would naturally have a hard time making the middle-aged and older generations ripe for communism, but that youth, through a total system of support, would automatically have to become supporters of the regime. This theory seemed logical because the GDR youth in school was systematically kept away from every other ideology, except that of the GDR. And since GDR youth grew up without any contact with people who think differently, even the dissident opinion in this or that family home had to come across as a prejudicial generational reservation. But when internal criticism of the system was increasingly supported by writers and artists of precisely this young generation, uneasiness and anger, but mainly the feeling of being isolated in the GDR, were brewing together more and more clearly into a critical decoction. There was no need for this to become dangerous to the system if the system opened up safety valves at the right time for the demands of youth which were nourished from noncommunist areas. It seems that this mixture of permissiveness and force, to which GDR youth is exposed today, is enough for a while. But if the system were more certain that the inner process of change in youth was halted in favor of totalitarian conformity, then it would not need to keep youth away from all contact with the noncommunist world with such fear.

Every traveler from the West who meets with GDR youth on his visits can report instead on the steadily growing hunger for information, revealed in conversations with the young people. Of course, GDR youth is being most intensively supported in the area where today the foremost interests of all youth in the whole world lie--mainly in sports. Material and idealistic advantages lie at the feet of their athletic stars as in no noncommunist country. Yet the narrow dogmatic structure, in which a young person in the GDR constantly bumps into new corners in his apprenticeship, in his studies and even during his leisure, is felt, the longer it goes on, to be more and more of a straitjacket. But, of course, one should not think of that as though such an atmosphere would sooner or later have to result in an explosion. People who frequently have dealings with GDR youth of all professions and categories surmise rather that this feeling, together with ever greater satisfaction of their desires for information, could result in a steady change in the system itself; because the thirst for change is on the increase.

While it is only now that GDR youth can realize bit by bit that it has a head to do its own thinking, youth in the West is falling more and more behind. Most of those who wanted to be spokesmen have wasted their energies in protest against a state which had opened up for them a thousand opportunities to work, think, have opinions and believe. Of course, none of them would like to wave flags in Honecker's society. It is questionable whether, on the other hand, along with the gradual assimilation of our forms of life, with which GDR youth for the present meets its needs for freedom, an understanding of the absolute necessity for a variety of opinions can also be exported to the East.

But what has been developing most recently in the East, in spite of all mass demonstrations, permits us to hope that young people from communist regions will more and more prefer the incomparably higher value of freedom over that of the so-called "socialist society."

12124

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY: CHANGES IN LAWS BY GDR PEOPLE'S CHAMBER

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Jun 79 p 2

[Article signed "Gz", datelined Berlin, 29 June: "GDR Newspapers Remain Silent--Still No Official Announcement of Changes in Laws"]

[Text] Neither radio and television nor the daily newspapers have to date informed the GDR population of what changes the GDR People's Chamber adopted last Thursday (28 June), unanimously and without debate, in the Penal Code, in the Law of Criminal Procedure, in the passport law, in the laws concerning aliens, and in the Customs and Foreign Currency Law. According to the SED's central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the deputies had been given a written justification for the proposed changes.

The change in the Electoral Law is reported on in comparatively great detail, but without any reference to the political significance of the change. In future, the East Berlin deputies will also be elected directly to the GDR People's Chamber instead of being sent there by the Municipal Assembly.

Under the heading, "The Legal System of Our Republic to Be Continually Perfected," the statement is made, without even an approximate indication of the significance of the wide-ranging changes, merely that all of the legal changes decided upon "are designed for the protection of the Republic's Socialist State and Legal System, its sovereignty, and the life and individuality of its citizens": the proposed changes and amendments, which are to go into effect on 1 August, take the demands and experiences of the struggle against criminality into consideration.

The various manifestations of criminal actions--especially for crimes against the socialist state system and the socialist society, against public and state order, socialist property and the national economy--have been defined in greater legal detail and with more clarity in accordance with the type of crime committed. The proposed regulations reportedly contribute to "the comprehensive protection of the peaceful activity of the citizens and their security in the socialist society." The passport law and that concerning aliens have allegedly been reformulated in accordance with "the present and future social conditions in

the GDR, the international position of the GDR, and current and developing international relations." The new version of the passport law reportedly leads to conformity with the GDR constitution, the law on citizenship, and the practices based on that law. In this sense, the revised law governs the rights and duties for GDR citizens and noncitizens. "The stipulations of the law on aliens apply to foreigners staying in the GDR. Within the meaning of this law, foreigners are persons who do not possess GDR citizenship. The legal structure thus created corresponds to the practice of most other states."

CSO: 2300

PROTESTANT CHURCH UNIFICATION PLANS DELAYED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 12 Jun 79 p 4

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum: "Lutherans Fear They Will Come Off Badly in a GDR Church Federation." For additional West German commentary on this topic, see the following JPRS issues of this series: 73349, 1 May 79, No 1674, pp 21-24, and 73185, 9 Apr 79, No 1667, pp 58-59]

[Text] The end of the three-day synod of the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the GDR (VELK) was marked by the almost unanimous decision (one opposing vote) to accept the planned unification of the three church federations now existing in the GDR. But after the synod, held at Plauen (Vogtland), observers agree that there is a long road ahead before the United Evangelical Church emerges from the church federations now existing, from VELK, to which belong the Lutheran churches of Thuringia, Saxony and Mecklenburg, from the Evangelical Union Church representing the association of the five former Prussian church provinces, and from the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, a loose association of all eight regional churches.

The timetable however, which was decided in January at a delegates' meeting in Eisenach at the foot of the Wartburg, will hardly be able to be followed. "Beginning 1981," the delegates said, the executive offices of the new federation are to be established. The delegates at the Plauen synod made it more or less clear that this synod, which was just meeting for the first time, would not be the last--it will be in office until 1985--but at best the next to last. "We can be happy if we reach our goal by 1990," said one of the delegates at the synod. The readiness in principle of the Lutherans to form a federation also means that there will be serious disputes on many individual questions. The central question will be how the Lutheran faith can be brought into the new federation. Bishop Werner Leich of Thuringia would like to express this even in the name of the new church by having "AB" added to the name--which is meant to stand for Augsburger Bekenntnis [Augsburg Faith], the basic document of Lutheran faith written in 1530.



The recently published theses of the Lutheran Church Directorate on self-understanding have met with hard criticism in the Union Church (EKU). In his final address at the Plauen synod, Joachim Rogge, president of the Union Church Chancellery, even referred to obstacles which are to be falsely attributed to the Union Church. He cites as an example Thesis 23, which states that the EKU bases its church organization "on supposedly direct references to the gospel." This is the reason for its basically anti-confessionalist attitude, which requires of it, at the same time, a tolerance for theological variety, partly Lutheran, partly Reformed. It is probably no coincidence that the Plauen Synod pointed out that the church organization of the EKU is 10 times as large as VELK; and another sideswipe at the EKU is the reference to the thesis in the basic (Lutheran) document that states that for the EKU rules and regulations are an "integral part of its gospel message"--which is of course in contrast to the Lutherans.

Why in spite of all problems the new organizational form is necessary for the eight member churches in the GDR was explained at Plauen by Johannes Hempel, bishop of Saxony. It is made necessary by the existence of two German states, because of the social and spiritual situation in the GDR, and because of the different contributions of the member churches. But Hempel's explanations also express the concern that the Lutherans might come off badly in the new church. He therefore pleaded that there should be no false concentration of power in the unified church. The new church and the eight regional churches should instead share their power.

Conclusion: The initially euphoric plans for a new church federation in the GDR have been slowed down by the Lutheran Synod at Plauen, even if they have not been put on ice. That further progress is made on this road will be guaranteed by the laity who do not consider differences in faith as important as theologians consider them.

8889

CSO: 2300

CLERGYMEN APPOINTED TO PENAL INSTITUTIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jun 79 p 5

[Article signed "Ws.", datelined Berlin, 22 June: "Pastors for Prisons—Protestant Churches in the GDR Assign Prison Chaplains"]

[Text] In recent months, church directorates of all eight Protestant Land churches in the GDR have appointed clergymen as prison chaplains for the penal institutions in the regions of the respective Land church. The possibility of a regular prison ministry in GDR penitentiaries goes back to the discussion held on 6 March 1978 between the executive committee of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR and the chairman of the State Council, Honecker. At that meeting Honecker had agreed in principle to individual spiritual care for prisoners and to religious services in the penal institutions. Of course, personnel and technical provisions would have to be worked out by the individual Land churches in conjunction with the respective Bezirk councils and the GDR Ministry of the Interior. The ministry would have to approve every prison chaplain appointed by the church before he could begin his service in the penal institution. This has already happened in some Land churches. Most recently, the interior ministry has approved two clergymen appointed as prison chaplains for the penal institutions of the Greifswald Land church region by that church's directorate. The two pastors have in the meantime assumed their duties. In other Land churches the approval of the GDR Ministry of the Interior has not yet come through. The League of Protestant Churches in the GDR is assuming, however, that these as yet outstanding approvals will be given in the near future, so that the appointed prison chaplains will then be able to perform their duties in all the Land churches.

CSO: 2300

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON SOCIAL POLICY AT ENTERPRISE

Budapest **MAGYAR HIRLAP** in Hungarian 27 May 79 p 5

[Interview with Istvan Szigeti, Deputy Minister of Labor, by reporter Ilona Peter: "Social Policy at the Enterprises"; date and place not given]

[Text] Istvan Szigeti was born in a peasant family in 1926. He is an economist, did his university studies in the Soviet Union. He worked in the National Planning Office for nine years, after 1956 he was secretary of the office's party committee. After 1963 he was deputy head of the Main Economy Department of the CEMA secretariat in Moscow. Following this for eight years he worked on the Economic Policy Department of MSZMP's Central Committee, then in the last three years as deputy minister in the Ministry of Labor. Among other things, the issues of social policy are within his sphere of responsibilities.

[Question] We have gotten used to it and consider it to be a natural that not only the state but our place of employment also look after our social needs. The care is planned. The enterprises work out the lines of their social policy activities, the path of development now not only for one year but for the entire time period of the five-year plan. Yet the question can come up: is the realization of the plans perhaps endangered by those requirements which in all areas of the national economy make better considered, financially tighter economic operation necessary?

[Answer] Based on the information available to us, I can give a reassuring answer: realization of the enterprises' social-cultural progress planned for the time period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan is proceeding at a good rate, the plans will all be carried out. However, it is the real truth that the conditions of further growth of our national economy have become more difficult, and today the better thought out, tighter, more economical economic operation is also indispensable in the enterprises' social policy activity. In my judgment, this is not necessarily accompanied by a decrease in material resources and cannot mean at all that the enterprises' social policy tasks will be narrowed down. But in order for us to be able to carry out the social

care of workers at the present or at an even higher level, it is necessary that the central and local material resources be used in a coordinated, goal-oriented manner.

[Question] When we speak of social policy, social care, we generally separate the state's and the enterprises' social policies. Yet we often confuse the contents and functions of the two. At times we expect things from the state which can be solved only within the enterprise's framework, and vice versa. Our question is: What is the task of one, and of the other?

[Answer] Yes, social care is accomplished on the central and local--enterprise and council--levels. Each has its own function within the system of providing it. The central social policy activity is in general aimed at taking care of the tasks on society's level. Among these are the services paid directly by the national budget and by social security, such as, for example, sick pay, retirement benefits and family subsidy. The task of the councils is primarily to take care of performance, operating, and also care and assistance tasks. The radius of the enterprises' social activity extends over its employees, its basic task is to aid in supplying the manpower necessary for the enterprises' efficient operation and improve the working and living conditions of its workers. The enterprises take care of a whole series of such social functions--for example, inplant feeding--which can be solved well only there, at the place of work.

[Question] Debate often follows the social policy of the place of work. Many people feel that only such social benefits are necessary which are enjoyed by the majority of the given collective, and exactly because of this they place a questionmark after expenditures which cost millions and affect only a few people. What is your opinion of the debates, what is the correct position?

[Answer] Due inherently to its essence, social policy is stratum centered. It always endeavors to satisfy some socially justified need of some group or stratum of society, or a unique need of the individual. The enterprise's social service also endeavors to satisfy the needs of the various strata of workers. Generally it also depends on the individual demands of workers whether or not they make use of some social service, or benefit, for example, from reduced-rate institutional feeding or vacationing. The decision must be made after hearing the collective's opinion. The collective produces the benefits which can be distributed for social purposes, and the correct thing to do is to decide on the basis of their opinions: how these benefits will be spent.

[Question] Someone writing us a letter complained: his wage was not raised in the latest round of wage improvements, even though his retirement is approaching. His enterprise--he complained--had forgotten about its humanitarian duty. In connection with this letter, we ask: what is the role of humanitarianism in the enterprise's social policy?

[Answer] If your letter writer actually deserved the raise in wages on the basis of his work, it is improper that he did not receive it. But I would like to declare it very unambiguously that the approach of retirement is no basis for a wage increase. The wage is no social benefit and its size and dynamics must not depend on social factors. In harmony with the principle of making the distributions according to the work done, the wage must depend on the quantity and quality of work done. The rewards, bonuses and the end-of-year share distributions must also express this. Unfortunately this is not always so in practice. Some managers of workplaces give large wage increases, rewards, bonuses to workers before retirement which are not proportional to the work they performed, out of erroneously interpreted humanitarianism. Even when this is done only nominally--that is, actually others get the money--just so that they increase the retirement benefit base of the person in question even with this. They do this instead of providing the worker with a job which is appropriate for his age and many decades of experience, since in this manner he could deservedly obtain the higher earnings. This is the really humanitarian behavior. But the opposite of this--that is, when they disregard the work--does not correspond to either the wage or the social policy principles, and not even to our views formed about humanitarianism. We must eradicate this financially and morally harmful practice, even if it is not a general one. Weighing the social circumstances of workers is a very important task of the leaders of the workplace's state and social organs, it is really their humanitarian obligation, the decisive majority of them not only know this but also act according to this. This outlook and behavior must be strengthened.

[Question] In the span of five years the enterprises can spend a significant sum on social and welfare purposes. But are they managing these sums efficiently? What tasks, in your opinion, demand priority?

[Answer] It is impossible to define such priorities centrally in the enterprises' social policies which are good for everyone alike. As I have already mentioned, the needs must be thoroughly evaluated locally and decisions about the tasks to be accomplished must be made locally by involving the community. But regarding the sequence, I consider completely insuring fundamental social care to be very important. By this I mean improving showers and dressing rooms, the supply of working clothes, quality lodging and transportation for workers and infant feeding. Improving plant child-care institutions, and supporting the construction of apartments by enterprises continue to remain important tasks. The efforts aimed in these directions also help solve the goals of society as a whole, not just the enterprise's interests. But there also exist forms of social care which in many cases are of a financial in character but represent human care, consideration of the worker. This cannot be ordered centrally, even though we cannot be completely satisfied in this respect either. And there are also tasks in the solving of which it would be necessary to cooperate with other organs outside the enterprise. Such as, for example, the transportation of workers. Today's situation is not satisfactory. The level of transportation is poor: due to its being disorganized, and to the extremely low level of utilizing efficiently the transportation



equipment (buses), it is also expensive. The enterprises can solve this un-  
blessed situation only together with the portfolios.

[Question] Finally, we ask you to outline in what direction the social  
policies of enterprises are progressing?

[Answer] We are already working in the Ministry of Labor on further develop-  
ing the social care the enterprises are providing. Together with SZOT [Na-  
tional Council of Trade Unions] we intend to issue further developed planning  
guide principles for the Sixth Five-Year Plan's time period, based on ex-  
perience acquired thus far. The foundation for this is provided by the re-  
sults we have already achieved and by the economic opportunities of the enter-  
prises. We can see well that due, on the other hand, to the national economy's  
limited material opportunities, and on the other, to the increase of the social  
demands of workers the demand and need for planned, efficient and concentrated  
utilization of the means which can be used for social purposes at the enter-  
prise will increase. Thus the demands made on the managements of enterprises  
will increase in planning as well as in carrying out social care. Greater  
harmony is needed between the individual levels of the social policy institu-  
tion system, I am referring first of all to better coordination between the  
activities of enterprises and councils. Further progress is also needed in  
laying the financial foundations of the planned goals, and the directing and  
supervising activities of the chief authorities need improvement.

In improving social care by the enterprises I consider increased partici-  
pation by the workers in planning, implementing and overseeing social policy  
goals to be very important. We can solve this task successfully only in  
close cooperation with the trade union organs of enterprises.

There is a debate also about whether there is sufficient opportunity for us  
to expand the system of social planning and through this the higher level of  
care for broader circles of the workers. But a decision about this--just as  
also about the specific extent of improving the delivery of care--can be made  
only in possession of more specific knowledge about the financial possibil-  
ities.

However, it must be expected that the level, the growth of social care by the  
enterprises cannot be independent of the production and profitability re-  
sults. This can carry some orientation into the migration of manpower, since  
in selecting the place of work the workers take social services into consid-  
eration as one of the important factors.

8134  
CSO: 2500

ANSWER SOUGHT TO SOCIALLY UNACCEPTABLE YOUTHS

Protest Rock Group Speaks

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 2, 1979 pp 65-76

[Article by Janos Kobanyai: "Safety-Pins and Leather Pants"]

[Text] "I beat on deaf walls, untouched by my music.  
This road is a vicious circle, no friend beyond the walls.  
I may go mad and beat my head against the wall,  
Making war against the gods, nor reach the stars at all..."  
"Jericho"--The Beatrice Group

Since the beginning of the 1970's, when the rebellion of the flower children in jeans, the children of the middle class, came so spectacularly to an end--here and abroad--the Budapest "tight-pants'" [csövesek] living 'on the edge of the metropolis' have made much of the larger rock groups in Hungary through their enthusiasm. But one after another these rock groups became successful and went to the shining palace on Vorosmarty Square and thus joined the well paying and conformist camp of the rock business. Thus also they lost their fans who could thereafter see them as demigods on the album jackets in show windows, or possibly on television or could see them once or twice a year at concerts as dots seen from a distance protected by the high price of the tickets, by regulations, by police dogs and horses and the ranks of road gorillas.

So the "tight-pants" had to seek new bands to whom they could shout close to the stage: "You're the king, Lajos." They loved them if they could invite the lead guitarist for a glass of beer or at least shake hands with them after the concert.

Despite the apparently invincible fabric of interest the "tight-pants" had successes too--as representatives of their unsatisfiable dreams of emancipation--the Pyramid, which had an incredible career in a short time, the P. Mobil and the Mini, which played the more complex music of a narrow stratum for 10 years.

Most of them do not have record players on which they could hear their onetime favorites, nor even a room of their own where they could perfect their music under tranquil circumstances. Their living circumstances are such that they can only consume live music. In any case, this is the ancient and natural way to listen to music, one which is denied by the business system which has taken over youth music, denied for other consumer reasons, which uses live music only for advertising. The "tight-pants" cannot go to the clubs of the universities or culture houses which adhere ever more closely to the numerus clausus of membership documents--primarily graduation from a gymnazium. Those who do not attend a gymnazium are excluded from certain places. Thus those who for some reason cannot enter the world of the discos, which spread the illusion of a bourgeois lifestyle, are doomed to live, aggressive and dissatisfied, a life of disillusionment and isolation. This experience gives birth to a new and spreading myth of violence, all those circumstances which create independent of foreign examples--which our press treats for the time being as a special Western fad--punk music and a punk style of life.

#### Who Are the Tight-pants?

Certainly, from any point of view, the tight-pants are a wild and frightening group. Our respectable civil morality trembles before them in the subways, on the stones around the Blaha fountain, on the benches of "Lib" Square, before the youth parks and, in general, at every rock concert to which, in principle, all are admitted. In general they have short hair in contrast to the long hair bathed in colored lights falling to the silk or velvet, which has become treasonous. Even their dress has broken from the uniform jeans (to which many said farewell with some nostalgia even in 1972 but which had a triumphant return on the posteriors of fashionable ladies and pretty business boys strolling along Vaci Street, at least castrated from the expression of a worldview). The characteristic elements of their dress show where they come from--flannel shirts worn with tails out, tight readymade pants, slovenly long coats from the 1950's, army boots or shoes or leather pants and motorcycle jackets with homemade studs--once forbidden in Budapest but now made in the "hell shacks" [hell sek] in Cegled. What is Western about them can be easily acquired in Hungary (they do not need businessmen parents or Western relatives to follow their "opposition" fashion). They have safety-pins or metal rings stuck in their clothes, ears or face, toilet chains around their necks or--this is a Hungarian specialty--prayer beads and rouged faces. They give the impression of the memorable Brook film, the maniacs of "The Lord of the Flies" covered with pig blood.

There has never been an organized attempt to map the origins of this "sect" which increased so obviously after the summer of 1976 ("There are more and more of us," they say, and the public can warmly confirm it) but in the course of conversations it came out that they are all of worker origin and come, geographically, from worker neighborhoods--Kobanya, Erzsebet, Ujpalota, Ujpest, Angyalfold. And they come from worker families where the traditional gsmily has broken up as a result of the central problems of our society--housing, alcoholism, defection, divorce--or individual tragedies. They have

been raised by mothers living alone, by aunts or state institutions; the older ones--the spokesmen for the loosely cohesive groups--spent their youth in prisons or in the many correctional institutions of the country. Their behavior and their unique system of values is an "answer" to the blows of their youth (and these blows were not figurative), it is a bad and senseless rebellion--for it only makes the problems worse.

The tight-pants (they also call themselves "rags" and now, following the English "punks") have broken from the typical life ideal of their contemporaries, the postponing to the distant future the satisfaction of their dreams, to approach gradually through work the holy trinity of apartment, family and car, the material goods on which one can "build a good life." They regard work as a necessary evil (so that they can be documented somewhere), they study no trade, changing their unskilled worker jobs frequently after long absences. They are willing to work longer at enterprises (Geodezia, Kartografia, UVATERV) which provide the greater personal freedom going with surveying jobs. The "rags" flee from the stifling futureless present into very early alcoholism, drugs (this is most commonly reliance on the tranquilizing alcohol called Parkan or "szipuzas"--inhaling glue [Technocol, Palmatex] from nylon bags) or into the brain rattling, serpentine rhythmic ecstasy of hard rock music. The other manifestations of their life are organized around the rock music too. Under the influence of drink and drugs and with the music, the flight-rebellion becomes complete, supplemented by the group feeling of comrades of the same ilk which gives strength and security.

They gather about noon at the Blaha in the Astoria subway and go from there together to the concerts and often into the country. Next week's meeting provides a theme for conversation, a plot, excitement and meaning for an entire week. Their actions also are linked to the concerts--insolent or violent behavior at the beginning or on departing, capering about during the music, Indian dancing on the stage, mimicking shocking sexual acts, and repulsive grimaces. All of this gives them the illusion of a freedom felt during the minutes of intoxication, a distorted criticism of the living conditions defining their fate.

#### Knuckle Duster and Chain

But in its naivete their thinking, necessarily made up of the traumas, just dissatisfaction and wasted lives, is even more frightening than their gestures, sticking out their tongues at a well ordered world.

#### The Nazi

It is not by chance that his given name is Ignac. His mother left the country without saying goodbye in 1956, allegedly going to Sweden. His father died even earlier in a factory accident--he was a ship builder--and he was raised by his aunt. He was sent to an institution for vagrancy

at the age of eleven. He was always skipping school at the time and he would leave his knapsack in a church so it would not be stolen. But one time he did not find his belongings behind the basin of holy-water. Afraid of being beaten, he did not go home for 3 days. The police found him. Then it was institutions and escapes--the Benjamin of the Nagyfa galeri--the prison for juveniles. They taught him to be an engraver. But when he knocked down the master for some offense (the chief allegedly said: "Let the rotten tight-pants vagrant sweep out the shop") he finally left the industrial school. He has held a few jobs off and on but has not worked now for a year. He lives off his aunt and by mooching. He is 21 years old.

'Look, Hitler knew what he was doing, whatever you say about him. He gave young people a goal in life. You can make a living here too but it bores you to death. But war offered children excitement and adventure and I think Hitler was right. All the people killed? Yes, maybe so, maybe war is only great to people who haven't tried it but we can't try anything and even death would be better than this life where we are always the one getting hit. The Jews? They shouldn't talk; they are just as much racists as the Germans--I read that recently in a book titled 'Racial Myth and Racial Hatred.' It was in Hungarian, published one or two years ago. I saw it. It says, you could read it too, that the Jews started racial hatred before anybody else. This is even written in the Bible. So nothing unjust happened to them. I have read lots of things, for example 'Mein Kampf.' It was in Hungarian too, I got it at the Tango. I got some national socialist papers from the Tango too. I am informed about everything. I have a buddy who is a sailor who translates from foreign newspapers. Did you ever see 'One Day of San Babila'? That was a class film. They can do a few things out there. Fights and stuff. After that film the "Felszabos" ["Lib"--from "Felszabadulas" or "Liberation"] leather coats picked fights with everybody on the square and caused a regular raw. You see, out there they are free to beat up communists. The 'yards' saw it and didn't do anything. 'Deathheads' was a class film too only unfortunately they banned it.

"Anyway, after next week I am going to work. Fero--you know the singer with Beatrice, he is a good buddy of mine--said he wouldn't talk to me if I didn't get a job. Though I see him for nothing.

"I've been to the doctor. I am going into ships. Dad was in ships. But first I am going to make a new knuckle duster. Out of cast iron, that's good. I don't want to do like last time when I had an old lead knuckle duster. It lost its head and I hit the wall so hard that the lead got wrapped all around my fingers and I had to cut it off."

Crazy Sanyika

At the Locomotive concert in Taban on the first of May I photographed a gigantic gallows ratcoed on his back as half naked and clinging to the shoulders of his comrades he fought his way to the stage. He has been in



reform schools since he was twelve. They took him out of Pesterzsébet where "I grew up in the Brazil ghetto, among the Gypsies who taught me how to use the knuckle duster, the knife and the axe." He has six brothers. His mother is divorced from his father, a severe alcoholic. He worked 3 months each in the dairy and baking industry and went to prison from the BKV [Budapest Transportation Enterprise]. He spent a total of 2 years in prison. He is 21 years old. He now lives in Rakospalota with his mother. There are nine of them in a two and a half room new apartment but often he "crashes" elsewhere for weeks. He has been working in the Vidam Park for 2 months as a helper in a buffet.

"They sent me to reform school because music was everything to me and the council organs didn't like that. Of course I got out of there as soon as I could. I know all the groups and have been to lots of concerts. I like hard punk rock. I go to see the Pyramid, the Mobile and the Beatrice. Now the Beatrice most of all, they have become the band for the tight-pants. What is punk? It is an anti-state organization.... OK, a movement then. What is essential is that it is anti-state. It is against the police. I hate them, they have beat me up often enough.

"I had a teacher in reform school who taught me to play the trumpet. He said I had a great feeling for music. I can play the guitar, harmonica and drums but I gave them all up because I never had any money to buy an instrument, there's all kinds of instruments. I have written songs too because I am also a poet. Should I sing one of my songs?...

"They sent me to prison for stealing. My buddies dragged me into it but I only got 8 months. I got the rest because of my German things. We talked German to each other in the cell and drew swastikas on the walls and I tattooed one on my thigh. This is because of my views; I prefer the German race to the Russians. No, I do not know German or any other language but my buddy did and he had all kinds of newspapers at home. I never talked with a Russian. I am into sadism. Abuse somebody and torture them and enjoy their suffering. But I am not into it like the Germans who would even kill their mothers if they had to. I really love my mother; I wrote some poems to her. It wasn't her fault I got sent to an institution. I love my brothers too. And my blood brothers with whom I have made a blood pact. I have lots of buddies; I am the favorite of Blaha. I share with them if I have a slice of bread. But I hate the conceited people who have lots of things they never earned, who got more and share with no one. I don't feel sorry for them; I would beat them up if I could.

"Recently, maybe 2 weeks ago, on the Blaha, a dame was showing off, looked down on me if I talked to her, she was larking around and wouldn't let me kiss her. I got her around the neck with this chain and choked her. She could hardly squeal. No, nobody interfered.... I don't understand it myself. I wouldn't let anyone beat up a woman in front of me."

## On the Periphery

The new band of the tight-pants now is the Beatrice. The name of this band is linked with the fashionable disco melody: "Come here, little girl, come here; they are playing the funky music." In the middle of the summer this year the leader of the group--tired of being in the dull third or fourth place of the beat industry--left his well established circuit and, not without some business acumen, dressed up a new band in the music and external forms of punk. For the most part the musicians gathering under his banner had similarly been knocking for long years in vain at the gates of publicity embedded in the extraordinarily strong alliance of interests associated with resounding success. Their pent-up, starved emotions define the hard rhythms and impatient, aggressive intonation of their music. There can be no doubt of their sincerity, the reality of a life situation. It is not by chance that their first song comes from this siege experience. It tells of the walls of Jericho which "must be tumbled down, or get behind the walls." The refrain: "The walls of Jericho, of Jericho, fell down long ago; Jericho, Jericho, your glory is in dust." It necessarily found acceptance among those who have in their lives thus far found only walls. Their next composition is the avowal of a community found: "You were born in the gasoline fumes of the city; you are the motorized generation; Safety-pins and leather pants; Why did your life become so different?"

### Lajos Mikloska

Lajos Mikloska is the bass guitarist and composer of the Beatrice. (His father is a hair dresser, his mother is a cashier. After repeated failures he graduated from the Zsuzsa Kossuth Gimnazium. He studied piano from the age of eight. After graduation he studied classical guitar but the beat wave caught him up and--since this instrument was lacking in a nameless band-- he became a bass player. He became well known in one of the first, legendary rock groups, the Check-Mate, and when they broke up he joined the Korong [Disc]. They were the first to try to form a rock theater in Hungary and among other things they produced Jesus Christ Superstar in Hungarian. After a promising beginning he twice approached a wider success. He was invited into the Sirius to take the place of Miklos Orszaczky. This did not succeed. After a year of stubborn toil they put him out of the band. A second time he was kicked out of the Korall--formed as a band to accompany Zsuzsa Vencz--kicked out by Kancz herself, not because of his music but because of "behavioral problems." After this failure--when he was unable to sleep for one and a half weeks--he got a job as an unskilled worker in construction. He worked at this for six months and then, in order to take care of a sick aunt with whom he had a support contract--he made tapestries in a weaving cooperative. In the meantime he was putting poems to music; he was going to accompany himself on the guitar but at his first appearance--at a ball at the Industrial Arts Academy--he broke down before the largely drunken audience and lost the desire to continue. He got a job in a factory warehouse and then in a restaurant band

he worked six hours a day with 10-minute breaks in an inn in Cracow. From here he was invited to join the new Beatrice. He is married and has a 12-year old son.)

"Well, yes, our public is on the periphery in every sense of the word. They don't go to discos or to jazz or even to other bands except maybe the P. Mobile. They do not belong to any sort of organization, such as the KISz or the like. Many of them do not have jobs or a place to live, because they have been kicked out at home and they travel around day by day. A lot of them have been in institutions, there are Gypsies and people who have served time.

"We thought--I can certainly say this for myself--that these too should belong somewhere. We undertook to be the bard for the tight-pants. It has always been my idea to change people a little with my music, and in other ways. Money does not interest me. You can see where I am, I do not even have my own amplifier. We have to borrow the stuff. Of course, this hasn't worked out too well.

"I have found myself again now. I write new numbers week after week now like in old times. Simple songs, easy to note. These are the hardest. My God, how I started out.... I have written symphonies with several movements for large orchestras in this room. At that time I thought that was how I might change people, that that was what they needed. I have two drawers full of music.

"The tight-pants stayed with us; we put on their clothes and we try to act on the stage in a way which is not unambiguously pleasing but which will not distract anyone. We meet outside the concerts too, we talk with the kids. Together with the Harta and Dusnok groups 40 or 50 of us camped for a couple days on the Danube. We fight against the use of glue.

"It really makes me happy if I can have an effect on someone. For example, we are visited by a 16-year old little girl who is completely fouled up; she is in an institution now but she is always running away. We talked to her for days to get her to learn a trade and bear that little time there. I went to the home and talked with the director. At first she wanted to kick me out. What was I doing there...168 hours listening to the group. Luckily the psychologist knew me from my time with the Korongos, every year we gave a free concert at the S. institute where she used to work. So they let Marta come to our concerts on the condition that she would go back on time to the institute. It looks like something has been turned around in her. She hasn't had any trouble for a month, she even exchanged her torn clothes for proper ones. Of course, it may be that these are only illusions... and day after tomorrow the police may drag her out of some cellar."

Siege (Alsoged, 25 August 1978)

The tight-pants appear on the beach even in the forenoon--it is Thursday, a work day. They came on the 10 o'clock train; their following groups meet in front of the Astoria at 3 o'clock. They stretch out to sun bathe and take out the glue and nylon sacks. Soon there are dazed, mystified kids lying under the bushes. They drink a couple of liters of "kovidinka" [rock grape] and then bring out a bottle of Tokaji aszu from a raincoat of indeterminate color, brought for the nameday--it is Lajos day--of the bass guitarist. They drink it, to his health, even before he arrives. A few members of the band come. An ovation. The singer: "You stink of glue. Let me give you some money. You should drink beer, you can screw up your brain with that too." A girl with a Joan of Arc haircut takes a tube of Technocol from the hand of a child who seems to be 14 years old and throws it into the Danube.

By afternoon the lady in charge of the culture house seems inclined to pay back the fee if the Beatrice does not show up. They show up. The music actually explodes in the tiny hall, the vibration of emotions trying to break out mixes with the rhythms. The well and effectively played numbers of the Deep Purple, the Rolling Stones and Spencer Davis and their own numbers forge the area before the stage into a mass of chaotic skin and hair and limbs in the shining lights. The suggestiveness of the production has an effect and strikes to the heart even those who condemn this sort of music and behavior. While playing the musicians thrash about on the stage; while the singer boxes with, flips and throws to the ground her powerful solo to the inventive accompaniment of the guitarist, the organist bites the keys and finally throws his entire body on them, rolling off to the ground, grabs another instrument from underneath and starts another round.... Finally the entire band is playing while lying on the ground. It is a real "happening"--something unexpected happens every minute.

The locals--10 or 15 of them--are isolated like an island in the midst, following the events hostilely. They are all fashionably dressed, well featured young men. The ones from Budapest are a puny bunch compared to them. One of the locals grabs my arm.

"Whose side are you on?"

"What? I do not understand the question."

"Don't play with me. I see you taking pictures. For whom and why? You have some opinion, you have to belong somewhere?"

"I photographed what I see and belong to no one." I would break away, but he does not let me.

"We should break up this rabble. Knock the glue sniffers to pieces. Don't you think so? I would like to throw them into the Danube. The band plays

well but the audience would turn an honest man's stomach. We should wipe them out, pound them into the dirt. The gallows is too good for them."

Five or ten minutes later he hit a boy, who had knocked against him in the wild capering, so that he swerved off 3-4 meters. When the boy returned and asked, "Why did you do that?" he got a blow that knocked him against the wall. Then, the picture of honest disgust, he left the culture house protected by his friends. The answer of the tight-pants--they beat up three or four locals at the station, who had not been near the concert.

Similar events can be deduced from a letter in issue No 39, 1978 of *MAGYAR IFJUSAG* from readers signing themselves "Connoisseurs of Wallowing":

"The Beatrice group played at the Erd culture house on 1 September 1978. In the first place, our message is not for the group but for about 50 of their habitual fans who call themselves the Hungarian punks.

"1. A person is not modern because he goes around in boots, and leather pants with safety pins stuck in him. Although we do not paint our faces purple and blue and although we wash every day we do not feel the least out of fashion or consider ourselves to be provincials. In our opinion being modern does not begin with this.

"2. Everyone has the right to feel comfortable in a public place but nobody has the right to ruin the amusement of others. We did not go to the culture house to hear your screaming or watch your spasms and wallowing on the ground but rather to amuse ourselves and dance. There was no way we could do this in the first place because you were behaving as if you were the only ones there and in the second place because you went beyond the bounds permissible for social coexistence.

"3. We do not agree with those Erd youths who wanted to 'educate' you with fists. We would like to convince you, not with fists but with observations, that the life, style, dress and behavior which you represent are not modern but idiotic. We condemn what you do because, unfortunately, some of the adults judge us, the young people, on the basis of your behavior. We are sorry for you because your lives are very boring and purposeless and, what is worse, senseless. This is why we will not be happy to see you in Erd in the future. Think about what we have said to you." With 61 signatures from the Buda Jaras and Erd Town Cultural Center.

The Suburban Youth Park, 3 September 1978

This youth park is a brick area surrounded by a high fence in the midst of a ruined, bleak, weed-filled, rubble-filled area. On the right are the colored blocks of a modern housing development and on the left are streets, like village streets, beaten into the earth. Inside on the screen, in the films of the Hungarian Fashion Institute, smooth moving female models take their places beside a shining bar and drink brand name



whiskey through blindingly white teeth. But the amplifiers are being turned on and "Fero" Nagy, the Beatrice singer, his naked upper body bulging from his cold leather jacket, appeals into the dark descending on the Park: "Please! Please, please. We are here and we will play. We hope the representatives of the press are here too. We could not begin without them. Please, please. You can write about us as you will. You do not have to ask us questions. We are not worth listening to. Twice in 168 hours. Right? So here we are. Only please, please...."

Of course, it is impossible not to go crazy from this, this tone, at once shocking and tending to run amok. These sounds go through the brain like the tail of a comet, releasing the restraining wires of everyday life. The little kids jump down from their seats and pound the pavement with their feet, jerking shoulder to shoulder, putting their hands to their faces. Some of them are painted like Indians. One little boy--no older than 12, the son of a janitor, who spent his last school year at concerts and on Lujza Blaha Square--puts vampire teeth in his mouth and dances grinning.

Those responsible for keeping order push back, with word or hand, the jumpers who approach the stage. Then a staggering, hand flailing, long legged youth rises out of the crowd. Two grab him and kick him out. They throw him out the gate like waiters kicking out a non-paying guest. The little one with vampire teeth is next. In the grasp of the powerfully built guard the wildly gesticulating child, weighing about 30 kilos, looks like a lively grandchild on a walk with a kindly grandfather.

The tattooed, painted faced boy does not go quietly. After being dragged a few meters he braces his back against the wall of the buffet. "Let me go, let me go, get your hands off me," he cries. In answer his guards--two hands on each arm--twist back his arms. The thin boy is again pinned twitching between the two pressing bodies. The tattoos dance on his muscles, the word PUNK written in rouge shows beneath his jersey on his belly and on his neck rattles the chain made of safety-pins. The older guard--about 50--hits his biceps with edge of his hand.

There is a limit even to the observation and registration of facts and events. Whatever the content of what has been or could be written this does not relieve one of the responsibility of action, of intervention. I speak up, bewildered and uncertain.

"What are you doing with him? You have no right to do this."

"What's it to you? Shove off."

"I saw that he did nothing; he was acting like a maniac and jumping just like the others, as 30,000 did a week ago at the Omega, with the difference that he is painted up."

"What are you doing interfering? Get out while you can. Who are you anyway? What right do you have to interfere?"

"I am interested in the Beatrice group, what is happening here, what happens at a concert. I am curious about what is happening with these young people and why."

"Well then, go home, you have no business here." He saw that I was not going. "Who do you think you are? Do we have to put up with this? We want to entertain honest working youth here. And then we give a hand to what these anarchist rabble are doing. Even if there were only three of them in the Park they would have to be kicked out. Let them go home and have a row with mommy, but not here. Well, you dirty rabble, there's going to be a hot time, we're going to throw every one of you out. And Mr Journalist --if you really are, because frankly you don't look like one--you incite these rabble against us and defend these nobodies. You stir them up and then take photographs of the riot. I know these bums--we used to be in the motorcycle business. If you were in our place I don't know how you would restore order. It's enough trouble getting them out of here, we can't do anything with them after that. We are powerless, watching them gather around near the fence, and who knows what they are going to do...." And a third colleague rushing to their aid, they took their prisoner to the office.

After some hesitation I went in after them.

#### Questions and Doubts

Collecting material among the tight-pants and, for example, the figure of Crazy Sanyika, with whom I became better acquainted after his release from the office, perfectly convinced me that if I belong to anyone it is not to the tight-pants. Not only because of their clothes and raving but because of their primitive, almost fascist world view. In any confrontation I would have to stand on the opposing side. I am afraid of them.

But do we really have nothing in common with the conditions of life which form their personalities, which arouse our horror? Does anyone have the right to ignore their existence? It would be a vain dream to think that in the complex system of our social co-existence an intellectual existence like mine was not closely related to this rather comfortless, poor and wretched existence. Even if our present conditions do not force us to note this ignominious link.

The exceptional circumstances of an intellectual existence, worthy of a human being, have become objectivized in their eyes as walls to be torn down. And so also for the rich system of connections which support it.

And the doubtless well-meaning materialist answer given with open arms at seminars is not reassuring--what is to be done? "We must improve the material conditions of their living circumstances."

These people live here and now, they are this way here and now, their effect is felt ever more powerfully here and now, and we have no reason to hope that their living conditions and world view will not be passed on to their children--to how many generations?

The manifestations of their dissatisfaction are unacceptable to the social order, but they are understandable. There will be time for patience if in the meantime they can live lives worthy of a human being, can realize themselves.

Visions of the future can never be reassuring. Those who think in a materialistic way must always reckon with those in a disadvantageous situation in regard to social development, the inequalities of the increasing backwardness of those who fall by the way. The humiliated and oppressed fates deriving from a necessarily uneven distribution which--which in contrast to the misleading myth of the nut-tree of Janos Szanto Kovacs--create, in addition to scanty goods earned with sweat, relationships which perhaps forever eliminate the possibility of true equality among men, social peace and true freedom.

"We need something else," something we have not yet found, social help and concern, the creation and putting into practice of new forms worthy of the essence of the human race--and the dim pictures I got when I tried to open my eyes suggest a change in the character and quality of our personal contacts. We need forms, for example, to return to our case, which deal with the negative phenomena of our society, phenomena which nevertheless belong organically to its development and functioning and even are conditions for it, which do not use force isolated from or even working against our principles but rather use some other type of power.

I confess, I do not know "what is to be done." This is why I am turning, with my questions and with the facts I have recorded, to a public which is wiser than I and which has, potentially, the tools for a solution in its hands.

I know for certain only what I feel must not be done. Not "We must beat them until they stop beating us, there has been enough of this already," and not the Western example of "taking over" of buying and commercializing what the tight-pants consider to be their own. "You will see, in 6 months they will be well dressed, their hair combed, entertaining themselves in my waiting room like the others and they will shake like a leaf if they come in to see me for 5 minutes. You will see that I am right," thus one of the gentlemen who sit in the Music Palace on Vorosmarty Square. It is possible that what he says is more shocking than the brutality of those who keep order in a mechanical way.

Why should we concern ourselves and get upset over the fate of young people who amount to a maximum of several thousand youths who play an unambiguously negative role in Hungarian society? Why is their society attractive--for a time I abandoned the jazz which satisfies my intellectual musical

tastes and went only to hear the Beatrice--the society of those with whom I cannot debate for we have no common language? How could their cause become my cause--I a graduate and perhaps even an intellectual??--Why did I get mixed up with them against my will?

Their place on the periphery of society, their indescribable traumas, give a certain justice to their unacceptable and distorted thinking and way of life which declares the bankruptcy of my democratic and humane truths deriving from my books and way of life. The existence of the tight-pants --even if their number is insignificant--makes doubtful and uncertain the fortunate situation and existence of the researcher. Abstract force which puts a brake on wildness, the ever present probability of intervention by those who keep order and wear armbands, and drive the traumas only deeper, who would drive from their midst the undesirable elements--surely this can reassure no one, it offers no protection. It only preserves their anguish, the awareness of their contradictory existence. If they are not emancipated then the emancipation of us all is worth nothing. This is the essence of the unspoken and yet universal link.

Thus, of all our links, this is the most timely and the most important.

Here and Now

An express letter, addressed to me by name with full address:

"On 9 September 1978 we met for the purpose of trying to record, in the presence of the participants, the events which took place on 3 September. After hearing the testimony of those involved it was not proven that you called the actions taken by the preservers of order fascist actions. At the same time you continued to consider their methods brutal. We corrected this before you on the basis of reports prepared on 3 September. I unfortunately found that you did not accept the helpful intentions and at the beginning of the conversation you threatened us with court action and a 'civil suit for slander.' You made a show of your legal training and tried to lecture those present, including myself.

"You admitted that on 3 September you were at the Youth Park, without journalist documents, as a guest of the orchestra. You unjustly interfered in the activity of those maintaining order in fulfillment of their professional responsibilities and who had proceeded against crude violation of order in accordance with their professional responsibilities. It is not your task to judge whether two volunteer policemen (charged with maintaining order) can request police action or not. You were in the office of the Youth Park illegally, you were not inclined to identify yourself to the volunteer policemen upon which they told you to stay in the office until the police patrol arrived.

"I have the right to decide who can visit the institutions under my leadership. On the basis of your threats and your behavior as described above I feel that you do not belong among those whom we would like to see in our institutions.

"I thus request that you do not visit us again."

Signed, the Director, Budapest 11 September 1978.

Seven cultural institutions were listed below.

Naivete was the reason but I did not believe that they could legally exclude anyone--who was not under legal proceedings--from an open cultural institution. So there I was next week too.

But in fact they can. I could not bring off a piece of business involving civil rights--purchase of a ticket at the window. They would not issue me a ticket authorizing entry to the Youth Park. The cashier told me to take back my money.

It was still 45 minutes before the start. Until then I had to take a walk. Thinly lit streets of single storied buildings. On a well lit corner a restaurant named after the suburb branched out onto the street through its open door. The sidewalk in front of it sparkled with urine, spit and vomit. Inside the orchestra consisting of Spanish guitar, violin and piano played Hungarian songs and then the number titled "It Is Hard To Say Farewell to Happiness." In the steamy, bare hall beer bottles were piled on the tables like brown hand grenades. Young men with red faces sang along with the orchestra. One of them raised his chair above his head in passion; one had to be afraid that he was about to hit somebody with it.

The empty space around the Park was slowly filling up. Small groups came creeping out from every direction. Five or six of them were lying on spread out sleeping bags, green liter bottles at their feet. A couple of boys, dressed from head to foot in leather, were camping beside dilapidated bikes, tattered crash helmets in their hands. "Ragged" and "leather" children circulated beside the fence, new groups appearing every 4-5 minutes at the concrete corners of the fence. Glowing cigarettes gleamed in the dark like the eyes of wild animals. A bag of milk held to the mouth of a boy in dark glasses showed white like the moon. Some, seeking a better angle to see the band, wandered along the long fence.

There may have been 30 or 40 of us, almost as many as were inside. The energetic rhythms came dissipated by the wind but even so they had power. The heads rocked back and forth, the boots kept time to the music. The little kid of the vampire teeth last week was sitting up on a corner post. He glanced about shiftily, frightened. Then, quick as lightning, he went over the other side and dived among the bushes and crept on bent double.

I went forward and noted the cold, rough iron of the fence. In my impotent rage, under the influence of the music--the refrain "Why did your life become so different" drifts toward me with double strength--I would have shaken it, but it would not quiver.



## Literary Group Seeks Dialogue

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 9 Jun 79 p 2

[Article by Janos Kobanyi: "With the Beatrice!"]

[Text] "Social understanding will be absolutely necessary if we are to examine this critical bourgeois crisis phenomenon not only at the level of a sensation--Punk, in Hungary?--but comprehensively, seeking the motivation." This was the end of Miklos Sukosd's report titled "Beatrice" in the 14 May issue. I refer to it not only to call attention to my article titled "Safety-Pins and Leather Pants" which appeared in MOZGO VILAG on 10 April which tried to discover the social "motivation" of this phenomenon, which is not "bourgeois" but is closely linked to the reality of socialism. I am also prompted to correct three intolerant responses in the Echo column (surely the editors received other similar ones) and I am so prompted by the negative effect of the report elsewhere also. Sukosd's article has a certain imprecision and presented the problem superficially.

Even the title of the report is misleading for it suggests that the Beatrice invented, if somewhat late, Hungarian punk. And it is simply false to say that it has undertaken to be "openly punk." (We can hear just the contrary from the mouth of Ferenc Nagy, the leader of the group, in the television report film of 15 May.) The enemies of the Beatrice--seeking to ridicule it or failing to understand it--put the name upon them. And even if it would be better for some reasons not to "admit" that the dissatisfied emotions and bitter message of the group itself and of its fans, now numbering several tens of thousands, is organically linked to Hungarian reality, it is a culture with its own laws which takes up fundamental problems of existence and awareness in our society with what is really not just everyday strength and public effect. Did not inflation, the energy crisis and the economic depression, modestly presented in the report as special Western European and American problems, have an effect on us too in the 1970's? Do these problems not depress the Hungarian economy and virtually every sphere of our everyday life? (See issues number 1 and 2 this year of VALOSAG.) But independent of this, the housing situation which has not been solved for years and the negative consequences of this at many levels, commuting, life in the workers' barracks, alcoholism, divorce, juvenile crime and the "second economy" which has an increasingly dehumanizing effect--do these not prove that we must admit not only the past but the present also?

The Beatrice group is doing this. The one-time disco-orchestra--abandoning the empty rock and pop industry which has spread here too in the Western manner--took up the fate of young people who had gotten into disadvantageous situations, those about whom the report paints a disgusting picture simply from their defiant dress. There is not a word about their shockingly sad lives, their desperate hunger for love, their hopelessly narrow prospects, their outcast "wolf's fate"--which are the background determining their

behavior and way of life. It would have been worth while to devote a few sentences to an analysis of the products of this "undertaking." The music and words of Ferenc Nagy and Lajos Mikloska which finally, and unfortunately alone (which is why they are so effective), brought realism into the sphere of beat music. They are serving the reality of a life situation, providing a democratic space to the demands of the "lower ten thousand."

Without at least an outline of all this the reader can only get a false and "sensational" picture, can only get comfortable stereotypes. (For example, such false commonplaces as the idea that the disco audience is recruited from well-to-do youth.) This makes it possible for the reader to disassociate himself from the "society of the tight-pants." But this is not a separate society, this also is our society, and every Hungarian citizen who thinks in a humane and honorable way has some responsibility for it. We have something in common with the living conditions which have formed the tight-pants who arouse our horror. Does anyone have the right to ignore their existence? Just because he lives under better circumstances? And it is a vain dream to think that in the complex coexistence system of our society the existence of anyone would not be closely linked to this truly rather comfortless, squalid life even if our present circumstances do not force us to take cognizance of this ignominious link. Abstract force which puts a brake on their wildness, the action of the keepers of order with armbands which only deepens their traumas, the ever present probability of intervention by "police on foot and horse, tear gas spray and rubber sticks" by which undesirable elements are kept at a distance or eliminated from our environment cannot be reassuring and can protect no one. It only strengthens our anguish. Without their participation our emancipation and happiness are worth nothing. This is the essence of the unspoken link.

At every concert Ferenc Nagy says: "We want to be with you and go with you; either with you or nothing." Our reflex suspicions might regard this as a clever business trick. The struggle of the orchestra for its public (for example, that they get jobs and not use drugs) and for ever fewer opportunities to appear and their by no means symbolic fasting give credit to these words.

The real rise of the "tight-pants" society along side our socialist system should attract the interest of every thinking person. We should not ban or stamp out the Beatrice and bands similarly motivated or their fans--the response of Lajos Pato encourages this--but we should help them, debate with them, understand them and influence them. One cannot ban the public. This would not solve anything. The emotion, the rage, the just dissatisfaction and the intolerant reactions often pass over into behavior which can be called deviant. In its present situation our society is not capable of what is most fundamental--an urgent solution to their problems of existence. But culture, a "sincere word", clearing up these very problems, could give back much of that which, unfortunately, they never got from anybody.

As the pop critic for one of the daily papers I stumbled into the Beatrice group and then into the sect of their public. The meeting--which meant

the end of my function as pop critic--was definitive for my life and work. I felt that it would be empty chatter to say or write anything about beat music if I could not write about the Beatrice and their public, could not speak up for them. I agreed with the program of the Beatrice, which would like to see the real "rise" of this stratum which now lives on the "outmost periphery" of society and whose living conditions restrict, like a "numerus clausus," their ambitions. I and a few of my friends and colleagues are trying with our more modest tools--compared to music literature is necessarily more modest--to get literature to speak in a medium, to awaken a need for reading and culture, where this is not possible with traditional tools because of the unique conditions. Where the spoken word is more important than the word read. We formed a literary group under the name "Extra Example" in cooperation with the Beatrice and for its public. We have found understanding with the members of the orchestra and with the receptive members of their public who are free of prejudices. We have had a few literary concerts which could be called successful. In the wake of the Beatrice article a hostile mood arose and a few intolerant measures are hindering these aspirations and opportunities. (For example, citing the article in ELET ES IRODALOM, they called off one of our joint evenings.)

We would like to prove that our society is strong, sincere and tolerant and is able to face its negative phenomena, that it is not afraid to bring them out into the daylight, because otherwise they cannot be ended, cannot be solved.

(The members of the "Extra Example" literary group are: Karoly Csato, Balazs Gyore, Judit Kemenczky, Athena Hadzopulu, Endre Szkarosi, Akos Szilagyi and Ferenc Temesi.)

#### Editorial Note

There is a need to awaken a desire for reading and culture in young people--and middle-aged people and old people--in disadvantageous situations. This work can be done only with spirit, sometimes only as an obsession. He who undertakes it must know his audience and this knowledge cannot be obtained without a certain degree of emotional identification. It appears from the above letter that all these properties exist in the members of the unofficial literary group called the "Extra Example." We wish them much success in their activity.

But we would add the following. Hundreds of thousands live in Hungary below a certain material and cultural level and not all of them become tight-pants. We could narrow the circle. Not all of the young people living in Budapest under disadvantageous conditions go to the concerts of the Beatrice. Living conditions alone are not enough to make someone take up this life style. (Nor is it probable that the choice of the young people mentioned took place with any special social or moral awareness.) The public and fans of the Beatrice are distinguished from the rest of society by more than their age and disadvantageous social situation.

They are also distinguished--in logical order--by the forms chosen as a garb for their emotions, by the reaction of public opinion to the emotion which takes this form and finally by the awareness of their outcast state. In plain language, not even rage, rebellious emotions and a feeling of having no way out are enough to make someone a tight-pants. It is true that the emotion is not imported from the west, but the externals by which the tight-pants are distinguished from the mass are relatively new and are contingent. The safety-pin and leather pants are not Hungarian inventions and they express nothing. But by their externals the tight-pants achieve their purpose--to be something different. Their differentness, if you please, is more radical and more defiant than that of those who, five, 10, 15 or 20 years ago, also tried to be different. At least it is more striking. The tight-pants are before our eyes and it is difficult to "ignore their existence." They arouse heated feelings from public opinion. There are those who beat them, there are those who mock them and there are those who avoid them. Thus, at this moment, the choice of externals is being transformed into an undertaking. Existence at the periphery is receiving a moral justification. We are getting a tight-pants ideology but it is the ideology of the tight-pants, not of the "lower ten thousand," the ideology of a group, and not of a stratum.

Emotionally there is some justification for the understanding which a smaller part of public opinion is showing toward the "Hungarian punks." The deviant behavior and the occasional crime do not speak for them. Their fate is not simply a police matter.

In the question of the "numerus clausus" we do not agree with the author. Living conditions do not exclude one from regular work. There are more than traditional tools for public culture. For this reason we think that those living on the periphery of society can be helped by more than just individual initiatives.

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# ENTRANCE EXAMS REVEAL FLAWS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Budapest PEDAGOGIAI SZEMLE in Hungarian May 79 pp 441-448

[Article by Matyas Unger: "High School Graduates at the Gates of the University. Lessons of Entrance Exams at the ELTE BTK [Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences, Division of Humanities]]

[Text] 1. The old and overcrowded building of our Humanities Faculty is besieged every year by masses of high school graduates applying for admission. In 1978 there were 1,231 applicants to the regular program: this is essentially no more and no less than the average of preceding years. One also finds that great numbers are trying very persistently to get in. This year almost one half of the applicants finished high school earlier and started out with the lessons of at least one previous unsuccessful attempt. All of this proves the continuing great attraction of humanities and the great number of high school graduates who are willing to take the well-known risks associated with applying to the Faculty of Humanities. The OM [Ministry of Education] fixed the admission level at 245; when we subtract the number of those who were admitted previously, we find that the 1,231 applicants were competing for 123 places. (This was only slightly mitigated by a later addition of 40 places and the pre-admission of males found suitable for military service.) For years there have been four to five applicants for each place and in the case of some "fashionable" departments there are frequently ten or twelve applicants for each place.

By looking only at these numbers one might think that the Faculty is enjoying an enviable position. This assumption is apparently strengthened by the fact, demonstrable by statistics, that approximately 60 to 70 percent of the applicants face admission with the maximal number of points (10) from high school and the percentage of those with less than 8 points is not significant. The value judgments of high schools expressed in grades and numbers are in perfect agreement with the characterizations which promise excellent students who can boast outstanding achievements in their chosen fields. Reality, however, brings us ever increasing disappointment every year. The entrance examinations are causing us more and more alarm.

2. At the entrance examinations the university's demands correspond, more or less, to its own requirements. These requirements are determined by the



goals, tasks and programs formulated at the time of the most recent reform of the Division of Humanities about ten years ago, the character of the university and, in a wider sense, society's expectations with respect to the university. In more concrete terms, this may be put, for the case of our division, as follows: we expect applicants to be suitable for their chosen profession as regards their general education, specialized knowledge, talents and abilities, physical and psychological makeup, human and political behavior. Irrespective of his chosen field, the student should be able to present, orally or in writing, what he learned in a systematic and precise manner, in correct Hungarian; he should be able to spell correctly and make no crude mistakes; he should possess wide-ranging erudition in humanities beyond the boundaries of his immediate speciality, including at least familiarity with Hungarian language, literature, history and geography. We expect applicants to be widely read and capable of reading, i.e., have an eye for what is important; they should have the ability to emphasize, to understand and to apply what they have learned. This list is not intended to be complete; rather, we listed those points which the university could always take for granted in the past as a result of the historical division of labor between the university and the secondary schools.

The entrance examinations, where applicants are confronted with the university's demands for the first time, are causing more and more anxiety every year. Despite greater allowances made by the OM committees studying the difficulty of the written tests, the results of the written examination already signal the fact and proven conclusively by the oral exams, that the gap between the demands posed by the two educational institutions is constantly increasing. As a consequence of this extremely regrettable state of affairs, university education and advanced training of specialists is less and less able to rely directly on the secondary schools. The university is faced with a choice between sticking to its educational principles, plans and methods as they have been formulated in the past and accepting the fact that only a small number will be able to follow along these lines with the desired results (whereby "result" we do not simply mean a numerical average), or, as an alternative, assimilating, at least in part, the tasks and methods of the secondary schools and fulfilling its task by lowering the quality of university education. (Incidentally, one may wonder why preparation for university entrance examinations is outside of the realm of secondary schools, at least insofar as regularly scheduled classes are concerned, and why is it left to the innumerable preparatory courses and paid tutors both inside and outside the schools.) These facts are all to be considered and does not change the fact that the entrance exams are deficient and in many important regards not precise. The facts remain: it seems there is no use perfecting the methods of the entrance examination if we do nothing to eliminate the deficiencies found in education teaching.

3. On our part, this is the reason why we decided to take part in the debate which is taking place on the pages of PEDAGOGIAI SZEMLE. The debate started with criticism of a single admission test but later turned, quite correctly, into a discussion of basic questions. By discussing the situation openly and honestly and summarizing our experiences we would

also like to contribute to a better perception of the real situation and the process of taking the first steps toward the elimination of existing deficiencies.

Our remarks are based on facts provided by reports, statistics of examination committees, surveys of the Committee on Methodology as well as the debates and positions of the Council of the Humanities Division. Consequently, although this article is presented by an individual, its contents reflect the general thinking within the Division.

Before discussing our experiences in detail, it seems worthwhile to say the following. It would be unjust and it is not our intention to pass summary judgment on the secondary schools and secondary school teachers whose efforts we do recognize: their work deserves our respect. (At the same time we do not deny the fact observed by others that secondary school teaching staffs are becoming duller and are increasingly lacking in outstanding individual teachers representing the type of 'teacher-scholar' with a first-rate scholastic preparation.) The causes and factors behind the low performance of secondary schools and the low efficiency of teaching are quite complex and, in general, originate outside of the school system; these causes cannot be discussed here.

We cannot attempt to give an overall analysis of secondary school teaching. The systematic exposition which follows will examine only those aspects of general deficiencies which relate to students applying for admission. We will put together a kind of a "laundry list" of deficiencies which will be one-sided by its nature: it will, however, reflect real problems.

4. Before going into a concrete analysis of deficiencies in general and specialized education, we must mention the unhealthy phenomenon, relating to secondary schools as a whole, of the shocking differences in quality among the various secondary schools themselves. This means not only the apparently irremediable disadvantage (at least in the Humanities Division) faced by graduates of the technical high schools. This could be explained on the basis of the character of such schools, which does not change the fact, of course, that for a student who is interested in the humanities, the technical high school represents a blind alley. (This is especially obvious in the case of foreign languages. For example, in 1978 a student who received 5th place in the Russian language competition among technical high school students in Budapest, handed in an entrance test which received a failing grade!) Since about 35 to 40 percent of applicants are graduates of technical high schools, this represents a problem with implications for the entire society. This is especially true since the students in these schools are primarily the children of worker and peasant parents: these parents therefore decide the fate of their children by putting them at a disadvantage in the humanities before the children could express their own opinion in the matter. (Those who, against all odds, can correct the situation successfully and are admitted to the university, will feel the long-term effects of having attended a technical high school.)

The differences are excessive also among the various gymnasia. This can only be explained on the basis of differences in the quality of teachers and the demands posed by individual schools). As a consequence, the social and technical reliability of secondary school evaluations is doubtful, to say the least. To put it more bluntly: many secondary schools, including some in Budapest with an excellent reputation in the past, do not help their students in achieving a realistic evaluation of their abilities and knowledge. Otherwise, how would it be possible for 10 point candidates to hand in a 2, 3 or, not infrequently, 6 point test (this happens quite regularly), followed by a similar performance in the oral part of the examination. This can be explained, though not justified, by a striving for better grades, as opposed to better quality, in many cases on the part of many school principals under pressure from the cultural department.

It is not difficult to see why admission committees are questioning the present scoring system by pointing to the contradiction inherent in the fact that applicants from more demanding high schools are frequently at a disadvantage. This is due to the fact that they begin their entrance tests with a lower score which, possibly, gives a much better indication of their preparation. The race for high school points has become an end in itself: this is one of the most obvious weaknesses of the high school evaluation and admission process.

5. The lowering of secondary school standards can be measured most clearly as regards the knowledge of facts and abilities presupposing the knowledge of facts. We shall give a sketch based on a list of the most frequently encountered deficiencies in the areas of Hungarian language and literature, history and foreign languages. (No attempt is made at completeness.)

The education of secondary school students in the area of Hungarian literature has been profoundly affected (negatively, thus far) by the emphasis placed on literary works and the related de-emphasizing of literary history and the almost total elimination of memorization. This tendency apparently did the most damage precisely to the understanding of literary works. One finds, even in the case of applicants to the Hungarian department, that the literary work is almost totally separated from the writer because they know so little about the writer; the connection is loose between the literary work and the age in which it was written and the one it describes, because in most cases there is a striking lack of historical knowledge; even among the better applicants, there are very few who can give a precise account of the chronological and geographical references within the work. (The lack of understanding with regard to the author, the work and the age was demonstrated by many horrible examples among analyses of the poem "Dózsa" handed in at the 1978 written admission tests.) In the case of the mass of applicants, "analysis" of the work boils down to giving a synopsis of the plot or an individual "translation" of poetic works into everyday speech. Vocabularies are small, even in the case of the majority of applicants, linguistic sophistication is lacking; as a result of the banishment of memorizing, one cannot expect more than three or four lines of poetry correctly retained by the applicants.

Grammatical knowledge is no exception to the general process of deterioration. A substantial portion of the applicants does not even reach the levels demanded in the upper grades of elementary school. They are uncertain about parts of speech, parts of a sentence and word structures and they confuse word components. Precise definitions and logically structured answers to questions on grammar are a rarity. (This may be related to the elimination of grammatical definitions from the requirements of maturity examinations.)

There are just as many problems in the area of foreign languages. Due to the speech-centered teaching of languages in secondary school education, oral fluency is on a medium level but linguistic sophistication and awareness remain very low. Even in the case of relatively well-qualified candidates, language proficiency is restricted to stereo-typical phrases and creativity is lacking. Knowledge of grammar is deficient and vocabularies are small; as a result, they have difficulty reading and understanding foreign texts. It is sad to find that very few of the candidates have read any literary work in their chosen foreign language; most of them have no literary background whatsoever, not even from Hungarian translations. Another consequence of the narrow language teaching directed exclusively toward practical aims is the lack of knowledge regarding the countries and peoples speaking the languages they have chosen, their history and culture, etc. Even those facts they should have learned within the "core" high school material are unknown. (This overall grim picture is not altered by the occasional appearance of better educated and better prepared candidates.) The problems of our departments teaching living foreign languages are well illustrated by the fact that they are forced to revamp their entire educational system because of the declining linguistic competence of high school graduates. For many decades, lectures in foreign languages were naturally presented from the start and were devoted to theoretical problems in the linguistics and literature of the chosen language. Language departments are now being forced to sacrifice the first year to lay the foundations required for university level teaching.

The results of history examinations are just as disappointing. The majority of high school graduates possess a narrow historical scope; their factual knowledge is rudimentary and their conceptual framework is vague; their view of history is rudimentary and consists only of empty phrases. (This is related to the fact that their entire linguistic competence is built on hackneyed phrased reflecting shallow thinking.) Due to the narrowing of horizons, earlier centuries of both universal and national history are almost totally ignored and a compassionate teacher would prefer to avoid all subjects related to historical periods preceding the 19th century. However, those who think that this loss is compensated for in-depth knowledge of the present and the recent past, are mistaken. The lack and vagueness of factual knowledge contradicts this directly. (This could not be expected of those who have no idea of the sequence of events leading up to the Soviet Republic, do not know what KPM [Hungarian Communist Party] stands for, those who take great liberties in putting Karolyi at the most varied points in



1918-1919, those who cannot distinguish between the characteristic features of bourgeois, bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions, etc.) Lack of objective data and reliable chronological and geographical information results, for the majority of applicants, in the lack of temporal sense, resulting in the most absurd mixups, bizarre associations and total indifference toward causal relationships. The lack of well-founded information, superficiality and imprecise use of concepts prevent the formation of historic awareness. Historical analysis of events, processes and relationships is replaced by an unhistorical application of "exploitation," "oppression," etc., and a steady stream of empty phrases. (In fact, as we approach the present, the number of facts decreases and the number of empty phrases increases.) ("Hungarian workers were unified by the oppression"; "The oppression of workers reached its nadir"; "With the defeat of fascism the feudal-imperialist system died but its destructive forces continued to exist," etc.) Not so long ago it was still possible to build on high school material. Factual knowledge acquired in high school provided a suitable degree of general awareness and the task of the university consisted merely of studying sources, the technical literature and scientific research methods. Today we are struggling with the problem of trying to make up for the most indispensable material with the least amount of time wasted, so that we can start on our work proper.

6. There are some aspects of the entrance examinations which may be considered aside from the student's chosen field. First, we will discuss those relating to written tests, then those which are revealed by oral examinations. Applicants to the university are less and less capable of composition.

Here we do not mean primarily the contextual side (i.e., that the school models have the crippling effects or that independent thought is rare or that texts are stereotyped, etc.; what we mean is that most of the papers lack a clear and visible structure or logical thought process. (Sometimes paragraphs are several pages long.) Complaints about careless expressions and unsophisticated usage are universal. The majority of the applicants have a small vocabulary and are deficient in their chosen field's professional terminology.

Spelling mistakes again are rising at an alarming rate. Mistakes related to past tense and objective case are on the increase, as are errors involving the distinction between "j" and "ly." Names of countries and dynasties are consistently misspelled in historical texts, as are words such as "sullied," "fojt," "folytat" which occur frequently in historical texts.

If the preceding is not worrisome enough, one has only to look at the format of the papers which immediately reveals the lack of necessary self-discipline and concentration. (These attributes are necessary in all walks of life.)

Following the examinations this year, every committee complained about the lack of real interest in the applicant's chosen field, as evidenced by the oral examinations. This was indicated by several concrete signs. For example, they had not read anything beyond the very limited school material. They could provide only simple generalizations about compulsory readings from their "favorite" writer or poet using thoughtless commonplace phrases.



They were not familiar with the popular literature on linguistics and style. Applicants to foreign language departments knew very little about the culture related to their chosen language, etc; they were unfamiliar with its literature, even from Hungarian translations. Applicants to the history department were often confused by the question: "Which historical period are you most familiar with?" One may reasonably assume from the serious lack of interest that only a few were familiar or had seen a professional journal or had read informative scholarly articles.

All of this is related to the decline in the demand for well-rounded education. The lack of such a demand can be the only explanation for the fact that most of the applicants were unable to talk about a theater or concert experience or a fine arts exhibition. This lack of demand for culture is signaled by an applicant to the German department discussing the plot of "Mother Courage" while wondering about whether the Thirty Years' War took place in the 19th or 20th century (!), or by the fact that not a single applicant to the French department was able to adequately reply to the question relating to the Paris Commune; or, that the majority was uninterested and uninformed about daily issues of domestic and foreign policy, etc. The list may be continued at will to illustrate our disheartening experiences regarding both the applicants' chosen fields as well as the general level of education. What do these uninterested and uneducated masses expect from the university?

7. Of course, there are some high school graduates in some exceptional cases whose performance is good and even outstanding. Behind these one can invariably recognize an outstanding teacher with high personal standards and a student who is determined to rise above of the grey mass with ability, hard and concentrated work. Unfortunately, the number of such high school students is declining (or, in any case, less of them are coming to the Division of Humanities). We must not, however, accept such a low percentage. We agree with a committee statement to the effect that "the problem is not primarily with the young people, because the talent of the applicants still shines through. The deficiencies are in the education they receive and is responsible for the fact that their performance is so far below their abilities." We, too, agree that the decline in the quality of secondary education is not due to fate. The present situation came about as a result of a great many factors which are in part independent of the schools or education authorities. However, there are clearly visible causes which could be eliminated: our list contains some grave deficiencies which may be repaired, although this will not be an easy or rapid process.

8. From our standpoint, the root of these problems lies with the campaign to reduce the importance in education of the humanities and subjects within the humanities. There are many people holding important positions in public education who thought and continue to think that the Hungarian ideal of education in the sixties has been in need of a fundamental reexamination. The root of the matter, of course, does not lie with this. Each generation has the right and duty to think about the present and the future and the

year 2,000, and to define its ideal of education according to this and thereby shape the educational system. In our view, the problem started when narrow practical views came to be implemented to meet the needs labor requires of the national economy and the scientific and technological revolution. Humanities were perceived within this framework as a burdensome requisite of outmoded educational concepts because their importance in the formation and development of personalities and world views was not taken into account sufficiently. Fortunately, however, these views encountered some resistance; nevertheless, they were still able to leave a long-term impact relative to the social prestige of certain subjects and in ministry directives concerning public education.

Particularly depressing from our point of view is that the number of gymnasias, the secondary schools providing broad and generalized education in the humanities, is considerably declining in favor of the specialized and especially technically oriented secondary schools. (We will not discuss the experience of many decades showing that graduates of gymnasias have always performed better in the mathematics and physics departments of technical universities.) On the other hand, the atmosphere in most technical high schools is such that subjects in the humanities are just barely vegetating. (It is difficult to resist the role of Cassandra when discussing the possible long term social and political effects of such a state of affairs.)

Gymnasias themselves have been transformed in the vain hope that they can engage in practical training, and they assumed many practically motivated traits. In some sense, they want to graduate "trained" people; to this end, they sacrificed many aspects of their character as an institution of general education, affecting their openness and, unfortunately in the majority of cases, their high standards. (We would like to remark that we have some worries regarding optional courses to be introduced in the future, precisely for this reason.)

9. Teacher training of humanities faculty was very adversely affected by the elimination of history as a compulsory subject for comprehensive secondary school examinations. This was a clear expression of that value system and educational ideal which considered history and everything included within history as a subject as less important than it has been at any time within the past 100 years. (In our opinion it is indispensable to have graduating high school students, irrespective of their future vocation, demonstrate that they have a general overview of the course of human history, its direction, that they know about the major turning points in the national history, that they are able to apply the fundamental theses of historical materialism at a high school level, that they have the required ability to think dialectically and are sensitive to social and political questions on the basis of Marxist view of history and a solid knowledge of the facts.)

The de-emphasizing of history had a damaging effect on the education faculty in more ways than one. On the one hand, specialized teaching of any subject in the narrow sense also demands solid historical knowledge

and awareness (even in linguistic and philosophical studies). More importantly, the historical element is indispensable in the material, outlook and research methods practiced in all fields of the humanities. Consequently, our division was quick to notice the rapid decline in historical knowledge and thinking: acting upon a proposal from the methodology Committee, the Faculty Council asked the OM to require comprehensive examinations in history for applicants to humanities departments or to specify that those who did not take comprehensive examinations in history would have to make up for this at the university. (We are pleased that, according to all indications, history will again be made a compulsory subject of comprehensive examinations.)

10. The openness and general educational goals of secondary schools were further narrowed by the continuous decline of the importance of comprehensive examinations: they became non-functional especially in view of the regulation which assigned secondary school scores exclusively based on the subjects of entrance examinations, as opposed to earlier practice which paid more attention to general education and well-rounded general efforts. This provided an incentive for students and parents in general to concentrate exclusively on the selected major. The detrimental effects arising from this are well known to everyone who is intimately familiar with school life or entrance examinations. During the junior and senior years of high school the students' efforts were restricted to their own subjects, and resulted in a declining quality of uncertain subjects in spite of the best efforts by the teachers. (This is one of the reasons why high school students look for extracurricular opportunities in the subjects of the entrance examinations.) These regulations finally led to a situation where in many cases high school students would come to the entrance examinations with scores far above their real abilities, while their general educational level was lower than it could or should have been. (It is our sincere hope that changes are in preparation in this area and that we can expect a slow rise in the quality of general education within a few years.)

11. The regulation which proved most damaging during recent years was the reduction of subjects taught. This reduction was due to maximalism. It is true that maximalism, the "original sin" of every educational system, was indeed rampant in textbooks and syllabuses. There is no doubt that the problem was real. However, we regarded and continue to regard the way in which this reduction was implemented as faulty, at least insofar as the humanities are concerned.

Aside from the exclusion of institutions and universities combined with a campaign atmosphere, the reduction of the material to be covered was carried out by classifying material into "core material," "supplementary" or "introductory material" and "immissible." The differentiation of instructional material and the use of distinguishing typeface in textbooks is to be welcomed, although it is not without precedent in our education and textbook literature. (Ten or twelve years ago the right to differentiate was the subject of a difficult struggle within the class concerned.) It is always possible to delete any instructional plan but the practical effects of centrally ordered deletions are invariably destructive in

practice. Thus, the differentiation of materials was correct, but rigidly tying the hands of the teacher in selecting particular topics proved to be a very unfortunate step. (This he can relate but cannot require; this may be omitted; this he cannot mention in the class, at the risk of disciplinary measures.)

In the interest of clarity it may be worthwhile to bring up a few examples of what was omitted from the core high school material as a result of these regulations because they are only "marginally necessary" components of general education.

In universal history, with no attempt at completeness: Sparta, Alexander the Great, the Punic Wars, the investiture struggle, the Crusades, the great geographical discoveries, the counterreformation, the Netherlands War of Independence, Enlightenment, the Holy Alliance, the utopist writers, Italian Unification, the American Civil War, the characteristic features of British, French and German imperialism and each and all summarizations of scientific and cultural history.

Missing from national history are: the Tartar invasion, the development of the Estates, the splitting of the country into 3 parts, the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary, the Pragmatica Sanctio, the reform national assemblies, absolutism, the economic progress between 1867 and 1900 and the Monarchy during the First World War.

The implementation of subject material reductions and the obsession with "core material" have been determining factors in the work and quality of our secondary schools for the past few years. This concentration on "core material" has the practical effect of lowering standards leading to a decline in preparation, factual knowledge and, what is even worse, the abilities of applicants. With the prevalence of such attitudes the natural function of the school is being lost, which should be to teach every student as much as he has the ability to absorb. The entrance examinations provide ample proof to show that making mediocrity the norm does not even result in mediocrity. Even our colleagues teaching in secondary schools were voicing their profound consternation. They found that the majority of the applicants was unfamiliar even with the "core material." The anti-factual attitudes accompanied by the reduction bandwagon led to a situation where even the minimal list of facts necessary to form an opinion is lacking. As a result, the candidates are unable to grasp logical relationships.

Our contribution centered on existing problems. These are the negative phenomena which are causing more and more difficulties and hardships for university applicants, both successful and unsuccessful. The situation may seem less grave to the casual observer. Statistical averages and less demanding tests may mask many things and some truly outstanding performances make one forget a great deal. Reality persists, however. The negative phenomena mentioned are having an increasingly powerful effect every year. The danger of a circular effect cannot be discounted: the

university starts with students whose education and abilities are weaker; then, it turns out weaker graduates and everything is repeated once again on an even lower level.

This is not intended to reduce our responsibility. We do not wish to create an impression of a university education with no serious blemishes at all. Universities and, in particular, education faculties have a lot of urgent tasks. Our programs, methods and instructional structure require wide-ranging reforms. It would be impossible to attempt to give even a brief account of our problems and germinating reform plans within the framework of an appendix to this article which has a completely different purpose. We are aware of the fact that these questions are inseparably intertwined and secondary schools, universities and elementary schools all are part of this complex. In our view, success can be assured only if decisive steps are taken for public education as a whole.

9164

CSO: 2500



PRESS SHOULD DEAL WITH PRIVATE GRIEVANCES, WRITER ARGUES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 19 May 79 p 3

[Article by Bulcsu Bertha, in the column "Phenomena": "Ethics in Practice"]

[Excerpt] In the April issue of MAGYAR SAJTO, under the title "Some Observations on Matters of Ethics," Jozsef Varga published a piece in the 12th paragraph of which one can read the following: "There continues to be much privatization. Certain colleagues dish up their own petty grievances as public fare, and thereby cause displeasure to the reader. This behavior damages the credibility of journalists with those offices and institutions that are under the obligation to act on complaints. It is worth giving attention to a statement of the Committee on Ethics, to the effect that such privatizing commentaries are often published by famous leading writers and journalists who otherwise have a well-deserved reputation and rank in the profession."

There is a great need for the work of the Committee On Ethics of the Writers Union, and all of us owe a debt of gratitude for their labor and their rigor. The 12th paragraph composed by Jozsef Varga concerning the statements of the Committee on Ethics, however, perplexes me as a private person. I do not know what privatization is; and if there is such a thing, where are its boundaries? Nor do I understand the dishing up of one's own petty grievances as public fare. If a journalist goes into a shop in the morning and does not get any bread because it has not arrived yet, is this his private concern, or a public matter? He takes a day off and spends the whole day waiting for the people from the repair enterprise, because his television has broken down or the water in the bathroom is ankle-high, and the repair people do not come. Now is this a private grievance, or a public concern? Neither state nor private firms will undertake to put back or replace fallen wall tiles under 10 square meters. How can one classify this?

As a result of his situation, the journalist can put all this into words, but other people, who are passive parties to the same concerns, can do so only rarely. The journalist speaks in their place. This does not cause displeasure in readers, but joy that at last somebody is writing about their worries. According to Varga, all this damages the credibility of journalists with the offices and institutions that are obliged to act on complaints.

I do not understand. Why does it damage it? If ever the offices and institutions do bad work, then this does not damage the credibility of journalists, but that of the institutions. The press and journalism were not, moreover, invented for the purpose of winning the good will of offices and institutions. Honest journalism always undertakes to paint a realistic picture of society and of the surrounding world; in the interest of progress it orients, informs, instructs, and critically uncovers mistakes and anomalies, and seeks the road to improvement. If this does not please offices that do their work badly, then journalism is heading on the right path.

Finally, famous writers and leading journalists get theirs, too, in Jozsef Varga's article, for it is they who often write the privatizing commentaries, although they have no need of this, because they have well-deserved reputations in the profession. As if young writers and journalists would write the commentaries in order to acquire well-deserved reputations, and then the whole business could be dropped. The commentaries are born because people, among them journalists and writers, from time to time encounter exasperating, shocking matters and social phenomena. These matters must be written about. This is a question of honesty even if the Committee on Ethics subsequently censures them for this. There are, moreover, great Hungarian traditions of this honesty.

Mention of the matter of privatization is in any case perplexing. It is very hard to write news today, because enterprises and institutions have won for themselves a right of questionable character, by virtue of which their staff and workers may express opinions in the press only with their permission. We all hear weekly on the radio and television that reports could not be completed because the directors of institutions obstructed them. One of the most recent cases unfolded around an explosion on Tanacs Blvd, when a radio reporter was ejected from the scene, and was not willing to express his opinion in the matter of either a half-blown up house or the completely blown up streetcar service, because he had not brought special permission from the boss in charge. This permission system, moreover, has led to the result that a worker visited in the factory may make statements about either his personal feelings or his affairs only if the manager or the personnel director authorizes it. It is scarcely necessary for me to formulate what this procedure qualifies as. The result is spectacular in any case. Aside from workers called into the office by the chiefs, and making official declarations, workers have disappeared from the press. They are there, of course, but only well-groomed ones, whose character, personality, and stake in the plant guarantee that they will say nothing that might be embarrassing to the enterprise. Nowadays the press operates mostly on this. In the era of socialist democracy, which I, too, hold in great regard, journalism is not in an easy position.

What can the journalist do under such circumstances? Observe, and describe, without any permission, what he sees, his own experiences, and his opinion.

8971

CSO: 2500

FAKE 'TRYBUNA LUDU' ANNOUNCES GIEREK RESIGNATION

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 Jun 79 p 4

[Text] The inhabitants of Krakow, Warsaw, Czestochowa, and other cities in Poland did not believe their eyes when they saw the official party organ, TRYBUNA LUDU, announcing that Gierek had stepped down, that the party had been dissolved, and that Karol Wojtyla had been consecrated King of Poland.

This was a fake TRYBUNA. Copies of it were pasted at night on the walls of houses, on tree trunks, at automobile parking lots, on benches in parks, and in other places. They had the appearance of authentic copies of the party organ.

It proved possible to transport 5,000 copies of TRYBUNA LUDU into Poland, after which they became the objects of searches and purchases. Up to \$40 was paid per copy, which in contemporary Polish circumstances constitutes a small fortune.

The authors of the joke and of the "satiric guerrillas" operation are four journalists, two Italians and two Austrians, who explained at a press conference in Rome how they led the Security Service and the Polish customs officials off track.

These are two Italians from the weekly IL MALE (EVIL), hiding under the pseudonyms of the known comedians, Groucho and Harpo Marx, and two Austrians, hiding under the pseudonym "The Hegel Brothers."

In this operation they did not use their real names out of fear of police repressions, and for several days the Warsaw authorities were convinced that they were dealing with a provocation by Polish dissidents.

The journalists made use of the cooperation of smuggling specialists, who hid 5,000 copies of the fake TRYBUNA LUDU in two automobiles, a Volvo and a Mercedes. As they now state, the man who did this did it so professionally that the Polish customs officers found nothing, although they almost completely disassembled the cars during the customs inspection.

The four authors of the joke came to Poland through the Czech border and left Poland through the German border. In all the larger cities through which they passed they distributed the fake TRYBUNA LUDU, about which no one at first, not even the militia, was suspicious that it was not the authentic party organ.

The two Italian journalists are past masters of faking daily newspapers. For over a year they have been publishing satiric fake issues of the major Italian dailies. Every time they announce that their news are "exclusive" and sensational, such as "End of the Historic Compromise of the Communists With the Christian Democrats," while the two sides stayed on the best of terms with each other.

Each time their forgeries are sold in Italy in tens of thousands of copies, and their victims, the real journals, generally restrain themselves and do not institute legal proceedings.

CSO: 2600

BUCHAREST SESSION EXAMINES EUROCOMMUNISM, WORKERS MOVEMENT

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 79 pp 37-51

/Article: "Scientific Session on the 40th Anniversary of the Great Antifascist Demonstration of 1 May 1939, the 35th Anniversary of the Establishment of the United Workers Front and the 90th Anniversary of the Designation of 1 May as the Holiday of the Workers"/

/Text/ On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the great antifascist and antiwar demonstration in Romania (1 May 1939), the 35th anniversary of the establishment of the United Workers Front (1 May 1944) and the 90th anniversary of the designation of 1 May as international celebration day of the workers, a scientific session with the theme "The policy of the Romanian Communist Party to achieve the unity of the working class in the struggle against exploitation, reaction and fascism, for the victory of the people's democratic revolution and the building of a socialist society. The combining of the struggle for the unity of the working class with solidarity with the international workers' and communist movement" was held on 27 April 1979 at the Museum of the History of the Communist Party and of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania, under the auspices of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions and the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Studies in the Central Committee of the RCP.

Participating in the proceedings were members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP, members of the Central Committee of the RCP and of the government, representatives of central institutions and mass organizations, workers in enterprises, academicians, professors, researchers, students, party activists and participants in the 1 May demonstration of 40 years ago.

The session was opened by Prof Dr Docent Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.



Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, presented the report entitled "The Great Antifascist Demonstration of 1 May 1939--A Culmination of the People's Struggles Led by the RCP Against the Policy of Making the Country Fascist and for Defending National Independence." We reproduce here a portion of the content:

"Long years of experience, starting 1 May 1890 and continuing dozens of years under different social-political conditions, in years of peace, years of war, years marked with great revolutionary actions, had tempered the proletariat in Romania and had taught them to use 1 May as a day of concentration, of expressing their goals of class struggle in proportion to the country's and the people's general situation. The day of 1 May, which also long had been a day of popular celebration for the Romanian people, was devoted by the working class as a day of worker solidarity and unity, of aiding the workers on strike, of reclaiming certain democratic reforms and asserting solidarity with the working class everywhere.

"In the 30's the day of 1 May became a day for asserting working class unity and struggle against the Hitlerist danger and the policy of territorial revision and for world peace and for Romania's independence and integrity. In the interwar history of Romania's working class, the celebration of 1 May was an important factor integrated into the development of the worker movement, which at the same time contributed consistently to strengthening working class unity and to its political orientation in the country's general framework and the class battles for a better life. Workers belonging to the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party and other workers parties demonstrated shoulder to shoulder for these claims and for the same working class ideals and for defending the historic achievements of the Romanian people--unity and national independence.

"The ranks of workers became closer and closer in the years when the fascist danger in Romania was becoming stronger. Communists, socialists, social democrats and old working class party militants carried out broad actions with a view to rebuilding worker unity as a primary need in the antifascist struggle and for defending the country's independence and integrity.

"In the 30's, together with the installation of Hitlerism in power in Germany, grave dangers also began to press on Romania's state unity, problems of defense became such dangers became permanent ones in the daily political concerns of various parties and democratic groups, primarily the Romanian Communist Party.

"Under the new foreign and domestic circumstances, the content of the struggle of the working class and its communist party was gaining a more and more clear national political nature, tending above all to prevent the grave danger of fascism and to safeguard the country's major interests. During this entire period, the Romanian proletariat and its vanguard confirmed the role entrusted them by historical development and through constant and heroic struggle they gained the situation of being the most progressive force of society capable of polarizing the popular masses' struggle for freedom and national independence and against the fascist-Hitlerist danger and the aggressive war of conquering the peoples.

"The firm decision to defend national independence and territorial integrity at any sacrifice and by any means and the realistic political line of the Communist Party to mobilize all the national, progressive and anti-fascist forces around this basic goal were tested by the agreement of the Democratic Popular Front between the Bloc for the Defense of Democratic Freedoms, the Socialist Party, Ploughmen's Front and Mădăraş of December 1935 and by infringement of the reactionary circles in the partial parliamentary elections of 1936 in Mehedinţi and Hunedoara Counties and the 1937 elections for county councils in Ploieşti, Iaşi, Bihor and other locations.

"The concessionary attitude to the policy of territorial revision adopted by the big powers, concessions to the expansionist claims of the fascist axis and its acolytes, however, also negatively affected the evolution of events in Romania as well as other European countries. Under these circumstances, with the aid of certain Romanian banking-industrial circles, the regime of royal dictatorship was established in Romania in February 1939. The Romanian Communist Party's feelings to the new political regime proceeded from a broad view which had in mind the vital interests of the Romanian people with regard to defending national independence and territorial integrity in the context of the domestic and international situation. The RCP took into account that the new regime, although anticommunist, still grouped together politicians and military men with a nonfascist and anti-Hitlerist orientation who were concerned with saving national independence and territorial integrity. Proceeding from this realistic finding, the Communist Party felt that 'it would be a great mistake to confuse the current reactionary and antipopular regime with fascism and the Front of National Rebirth with a direct tool of it.' At the same time, party documents state that 'the main enemy is and remains the Iron Guard and the main fire first must be directed against this terrorist agent of Hitlerist espionage.'

"Documents of the time tell with their powerful force of conviction of the consistent concern of the communists in Romania with the problems of defending the country's independence. With such warmth the RCP each time appealed to its members and sympathizers and to all democratic and patriotic forces to act united in the struggle to defend the country's borders. In March 1939, when the Hitlerist armies had reached the country's northwestern border, following the conquest of Czechoslovakia, the RCP gave the watchword to members and sympathizers to answer the orders for mobilization decided by the government, to go to the military units and struggle 'to strengthen the army's political and moral force against Hitlerist Germany and the revisionist state,' stressing that 'the war of the Romanian people to defend the country's independence and borders against fascist aggression is a just war.'

"The Communist Party's calls to defend civil rights and the country's integrity resounded in particular among the workers who 'immediately, with the greatest discipline, fulfilled the order for mobilization.' They successfully brought the ranks of soldiers, as is stressed in the report of the territorial secretariat in Transylvania, 'the party line on organization of resistance and defending of Romania's independence.'

"Covering a continual process of maturing and having to still overcome certain theses which did not belong to it, the Romanian Communist Party more and more extended its influence on the country's political life, representing the main force of struggle against the fascist and Hitlerist danger. Being a living organism, powerfully anchored in the country's realities, the Communist Party broadened its contacts with democratic groupings and organizations and established ties with leaders of the main bourgeois-democratic parties, with various circles and fractions of the nonfascist bourgeois-democratic political forces and with a considerable number of political personalities animated by patriotic feelings. This sustained activity brought out the national conscience of the country's political forces in the struggle against the Iron Guard and Hitlerism and for defending the country's independence and sovereignty. The fact that the major problem being posed was not that of rising to a struggle of the class-against-class type but of the mobilization of all the patriotic, national and anti-Hitlerist forces showed that under the conditions the leadership of the revolutionary struggle was raising the working class to the rank of leader of the people.

"In light of these coordinates of activity of the Communist Party and the other revolutionary forces and the state of patriotic and antifascist spirit of the broad popular masses, we also see the organic link between the scope and nature of the 1 May 1938 demonstrations and all the work done by the communists, socialists and social democrats to mobilize all the democratic and antifascist forces in the struggle against the expansionist and revisionist trends of the fascist states. Proceeding from the traditions and significance of 1 May as a day of struggle, the Communist Party took organizational measures to assure that the demonstration was carried out at the level of the great dangers hanging over the country and over mankind.

"Toward this end, the party leadership established a broad party commission consisting of members acting at all levels within the guilds, with the task of assuring that the demonstration was carried out under good conditions. Comprising this commission were leading activists of the party and the revolutionary and democratic movement in Romania, such as Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin David, Tudor Gheorghe, Alexandru Iliescu and so forth. There is special significance in the presence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the front line of the leaders of the great demonstration, a patriot and ardent revolutionary who was deeply devoted to the working class and to the people from whose ranks he came, an active participant in the struggles conducted by the party to overthrow the regime of exploitation, who even since the big class battles in the years of the economic crisis was noted for his high organizational spirit and tenacity with which he uncovered the fascist danger. This presence gives expression to the fact that in every circumstance Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was a wonderful example of courage and revolutionary firmness, of total selflessness for the cause of the people's freedom and happiness and for Romania's independence and national sovereignty.

"The commission was placed in connection with the delegations from the provinces to insure them in the great demonstration. Thus, the demonstration took on the nature of a demonstration on a national scale. This also was proven by the fact that the demonstration had the Freedom Park as its final

point, where the delegations of all the participating forces placed wreaths on the Tomb of the Unknown Hero, a symbol of the value which the Romanian people placed on the heroes who sacrificed their lives to achieve Romania's national state unity.

"The patriotic antifascist demonstrations of 1 May 1939 were a victory for the Communist Party and its policy of the united front with the other worker and democratic forces. They were commented on broadly in the most diverse strata of public opinion in Romania and they resounded abroad. At the same time they contributed to raising the prestige and authority which the Romanian Communist Party enjoyed before the entire nation. The newspaper TIMPUL, disseminated among broad circles of Romanian society, thus evaluated the worker demonstrations: '1 May 1939 showed yet another time that the workers are the foundation, the base and national substance, the guarantee for its prosperity in peace and its defense when the country demands it.'"

As the author concluded, the antifascist demonstration of 1 May 1939 was a serious signal which Romania gave to Europe and the whole world for the unity of efforts with a view to hindering the launching of a world conflagration by Hitlerist Germany and its acolytes and it presented to the international progressive consciousness the picture of a people deeply attached to the ideals of freedom and national independence.

Titu Georgescu, professor of the University of Bucharest, referred to "The Struggle of the Working Class and the Democratic and Progressive Forces in 1939 Against the Rise of Fascism and Infeudation of the Country of Nazi Germany and for the Defense of Romania's Territorial Integrity."

Basing himself on the inflexible antifascist attitude of the Romanian people the RCP under the circumstances of 40 years ago concentrated its main direction of activity on defending the country from the fascist danger, placing the working class' unity of action at the foundation of this activity.

As the author showed, "The Communist Party found newer and newer ways of bringing together and cooperation with the other parties and worker organizations both to defend the economic interests of the proletariat as well as to create the worker framework on which to build the front of the broadest popular forces against fascism. Careful investigation of the documents of the worker movement in the era proves the basic changes in the attitude of the Communist Party to the other worker parties, to the Social Democrat Party and the Socialist Unity Party and to the trade unions. As a result, these organizations and a number of their leaders start to answer the appeals of the RCP to the United Front and the Antifascist Popular Front. Among these leaders we note Stefan Voitec, L. Ghelerter, C. Popovici, N. Moscauteanu, Th. Iordachescu and others, whose understanding for the unity of worker action was to be seen in many actions of the United Front and the antifascist movement.

"The successes and the achievement of worker unity of action against fascism, regardless of whether it was partial, were the foundation on which the new alliances and common fronts rose.



"Special attention was given by the Communist Party to the antifascist movement among the cohabiting nationalities. Particularly the German and the Hungarian populations were the targets for being entrapped by Nazism and Horthyism which, exalting philistine nostalgia, were to make these populations the Trojan Horse for dismembering Romania's national unity. The cohabiting nationalities, however, had large progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces among the workers, peasantry, intellectuals and youth who were at a high level required by the need for unity, not disunion of all those who were threatened by the policy directed from Berlin. Fascism amplified to the maximum chauvinism and escalation of the reaction and Hitler knew how to profit from it. Although under Horthyist dictatorship for nearly two decades, the popular masses in neighboring Hungary rejected racism and the megalomaniac insanity of fascism, which had taken on never before encountered proportions by 1939. With much clarity, even in 1937, the Hungarian Communist Party pointed out: 'Underestimating with the neighboring countries is especially easy since all of them are threatened by the Nazi danger. Whoever wants revision of the borders in alliance with Hitler must know that this revision would serve him and in no way would it serve Hungarian interests. Hitlerist revision would change Hungary into a vassal state of the Third Reich.' What is significant is the question of the Nadosz, the Hungarian organization of antifascists in Romania, with a direct answer: 'Who has the interest for the small peoples in eastern Europe to mutually weaken each other instead of resisting the common conquerors shoulder to shoulder?'

"The presence of the cohabiting nationalities of Romania in the broad front of antifascist forces to defend the country's independence has rich significance from which the Romanian Communist Party drew important conclusions.

"The Communist Party's horizon of activity included a vast political, educational and ideological area to influence the masses in the antifascist direction. Under these circumstances, new refuge appeared for a large portion of the Romanian intelligentsia who were seeking a path to affirm the true progressive and political values they were placing in the service of the threatened country.

"The basic nature of the struggles on rejecting reason in favor of a mystical awareness was manifest with great virulence. Condemnation of the Iron Guard, uncovering its close ties with Nazi Germany were done from the solid pedestal of the country's national interests of maintaining sovereignty and national existence. The patriotic content imprinted by the Communist Party on its propaganda and the mass actions was totally opposed to the linguistic, nationalistic and chauvinistic propaganda. This content was not at all ripped from the solidarity of the revolutionary, progressive and antifascist movements in other countries. On the contrary, the antifascist movement in Romania was present through its representatives at the big international meetings for peace and against fascism in Paris, Brussels, New York and other cities. More than 400 Romanian volunteers struggled with weapons in hand in the international fascist battles in Spain.



"The content of patriotism in the leading force of the Romanian antifascist movement came more clearly into evidence on the eve of the war when, with the Hitlerist armies on Romania's northwestern borders, the RCP in its Appeal of March 1939 addressed the popular masses. 'Hitler wants to snatch the grain, petroleum and the territory. He wants to throw you into chains. Rise in struggle to hinder any capitulation. The Communist Party of Romania states: The Communists will struggle in the first lines with weapons in hand.' Here we are on the grounds of the truth in order to evaluate the most responsible merger of the Communist Party with the country's basic interests and here we have the answers for the basic nature of the patriotism of the most radical political forces in Romania's history.

"The working class was the vanguard of the powerful antifascist movement in Romania which throughout the 30's hindered the establishment of fascism in power, facilitating Romania's being kept on a course of a domestic and foreign policy hostile to fascism and Hitlerism. It is a question of the resistance which placed our country in a posture totally apart on the eve of the outbreak of world war and even after that. Isolated and in a way alone, Romania in 1939, when Hitlerist Germany was dominating central and southeastern Europe, not only did not ally itself with the fascist powers but was carrying out an anti-Hitlerist policy.

"The governments of Romania in important situations realized the general climate ruling the popular masses and kept in mind the supreme rationale of safeguarding independence and national sovereignty. In such a climate of broadly popular hostility to Hitlerist Germany and its agent, the Iron Guard, the governors Miron Cristea and Armand Calinescu in particular took action to defend integrity and national sovereignty and to maintain peace against the Hitlerist aggression and the Fifth Column in our country. The preparations which Armand Calinescu initiated up to the quasimobilization of the army to defend the country against Hitlerist Germany and its allies in the first part of 1939 bear witness to the line adopted by the Romanian governments up to the outbreak of war and even after that. Among other things it should be pointed out that following Calinescu's fall under the bullets of the Iron Guardists in September 1939, other political personalities of Romania, including Gen Gh. Argesanu, Nicolae Iorga, former premiers, Virgil Madgearu, Victor Iamandi, ministers and others would be in the same period victims of attempts and assassinations by Iron Guard Hitlerist agents. Another man, Nicolae Titulescu, died in 1940 under dramatic circumstances, followed by the fury of Hitlerist bands far from his country.

"Always keeping proportions in the actual evaluation of the place of various personalities of Romanian political life and also judging them in the context of the bourgeois social-political regime, in the case of 1939--the regime of royal dictatorship--we may and should note the role of such clear-sighted politicians with responsibility for the interests of the country's independence and integrity, those who took action, some by sacrificing their lives, against enslavement of Romania by Hitlerist imperialism.

"Not without significance is the fact that in 1939, on the eve and even in the first months of the war, when the Nazi Reich was recording well-known military

successes, the antifascist movement in Romania was gaining scope. The day of 1 May 1939 is one of the proofs full of political value. The working class which had succeeded in raising the first big barricade in Europe against fascism following Hitler's entrance into power, through its great political struggles, had 100 day on the eve of war through new and broad antifascist demonstration.

Litvinile Iilescu, a participant in the 1 May 1939 demonstration evoked the main points in the preparation and unfolding the remarkable event written in the history of the worker movement 40 years ago in his report entitled "The 1 May 1939 Demonstration in Bucharest, an Expression of Joining Together Legal and Illegal Forms in the Revolutionary Struggle Led by the Romanian Communist Party." Again he emphasized that to achieve a broad antifascist front on the basis of the working class unity, the communists utilized many forms and means of struggle which were both legal and illegal--claims actions, strikes, meetings, demonstrations which they gave a powerful political nature--the author recalled aspects of the revolutionary activity carried out by the cultural circles in the worker guilds, in which the young communists Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Potrescu (Ceausescu) stood out in particular.

"Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was the one who gave cultural activity in the guilds a content which would contribute to understanding the big tasks then facing the young generation and the working class in general. Speaking in that era of the crisis mentioned, the young leader showed that 'the young people cannot limit themselves merely to cultural and sports activities' and their true mission under these circumstances was 'to intensify propaganda action through the workers to organize them in guilds, for the moral and patriotic education of the working masses.'

"Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was the soul of cultural-political activity in the guilds. I can be proud, as well as many other comrades, that I fully benefited from the energetic and loving guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in those years of revolutionary fighting. I met him following his release from prison when his personality as a revolutionary had been tempered even more powerfully. My brother Alexandru Iilescu called me one day in the summer of 1938 in the yard of the House of the People, introducing me to a young man with an intelligent and determined look. For a time we lived in the same modest room on Str. Ottilia at the corner with Radu Voda. I followed his activity during this period and afterwards and admired him for the revolutionary maturity which he was showing to have even during his youth, for his selflessness and courage which he showed in the service of party activity. At the same time he had a stout exhibit of character, was firm and exacting toward himself, an attitude which he demanded of those with whom he collaborated.

"I want to show that from the moment when Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu took the task of propagating the worker people, I noted a clear renewal of our activity. But the illegal work was so difficult that an hour seemed like a whole day, a day seemed like a month, a month seemed like a year and a year, like an eternity, because every minute came one after another and the terror of safety was hard to bear. Despite these difficulties, we communists came out of the struggle stronger and more determined to confront the difficulties

courageously. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu even then represented for me a model of self-denial, courage and revolutionary abnegation. He taught me how to organize my conspiracy activity and cheered me up when it was hard."

In connection with the moments taking place prior to the May 1939 actions, the speaker said: "Parallel with the congress, the government authorized two meetings: one in Ionis Hall on Str. Calarasi 11--for workers and functionaries organized in guilds--and the other, in Eintracht Hall on Str. Dionisie Lupu--for tradesmen and small employers.

"According to the program announced officially, at the end of the congress and the meetings, all the participants had to gather at Piata Romana, from where, headed by the officials, they would cross the city, also passing in front of the royal palace to pay homage to King Carol II, finally reaching the Tomb of the Unknown Hero in Carol Park (today Freedom Park).

"Celebrations and shows were scheduled for the afternoon.

"Everything seemed to be prepared in minute detail and well-substantiated by the officials, from the 'ovations' of the demonstrators up to the king's appearance on the palace balcony and the filming of this moment.

"As in prior years, severe security measures had been taken with arrests, searches, censoring of speeches, guarding of meetings halls and the route.

"Under these conditions, the communists had to find the most appropriate ways to change the events prepared so minutely by the officials into a powerful affirmation of the national will against fascism, war and for independence, sovereignty and national integrity.

"Combining legal with illegal struggle, the RCP even under the exacting eyes of the authorities succeeded in preparing one of the most resounding revolutionary actions seen by our national history.

"Under conditions of illegality, an expanded meeting of the party's Bucharest Organization Committee was convened and took place on Str. Corabiei, which established measures 'for the 1 May celebration within the program approved by the authorities but for fulfilling the Communist Party Program.' The communists were advised to conduct their activity 'through the professional associations, cultural, sports circles and any other legal professional organizations where the Communist Party has influence.' Also, it was decided to elect speakers from among the communists 'who would bring out in their speeches the need to concentrate all the worker and peasant forces in the anti-fascist and antiwar struggle.'

"It was advised to elect as delegates to the guild congress as many Communists, Social Democrats or sympathizers as possible, with their being brought up to date with the actions set for the next day upon their arrival in Bucharest (30 April).

"Now the fruits of the united front activities carried out by the party within the guilds appeared strikingly, with both Communists as well as Social Democrats participating in preparation of the event, which marked an important step in developing the process of unifying the worker movement in Romania.

"Also, the move in the capital was to propagate the calls and goals of the RCP among the working masses and action was intensified among the bourgeois political party members to attract them to a joint antifascist action on 1 May.

"To assure full spirit of conspiracy, the last instructions on communist participation in the demonstrations organized by the government were sent only several hours before the events.

"In conformity with the advice sent by the 1 May organization committee, of which Comrade Victor Ceausescu, Ilie Pintilie, Constantin David, Alexandru Iliescu, Tenuari Georgescu were part, the activists received the task of going into the worker neighborhoods to involve all workers in the action. A portion of the aktiv was directed to Tomis Hall to recite antifascist and democratic slogans and calls and to support the ones advised by the party to speak.

"The other portion of the aktiv was directed to mingle among the demonstrators so that 'the party would be present all along the long column.'

"I wish to stress that the entire series of preparations and organizational measures which brought an antifascist and partylike nature to the meetings and demonstrations in Bucharest is closely connected with the activity of the young Communist from the capital, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu first. The party entrusted this special role to him in preparing and carrying out these memorable events, bearing in mind the steadfastness and revolutionary spirit he had tested under numerous circumstances."

Voicing his memories, Eftimie Iliescu described the proletarian May Day of 40 years ago.

"I recall 1 May 1949, a sunny spring morning. Even from the early hours, massive groups of workers in holiday dress were heading for the places set beforehand.

"At 0900 the hall and garden of the Tomis movie theater were jammed. The military officials were getting ready to open the gathering, even beforehand counting on the success of the action undertaken. All of a sudden from the midst of the crowd placards were lifted with slogans like 'we want higher pay, long live Romania's national independence, down with fascism, we want a patriotic front, 100% law order.' When the speakers named by the authorities began to aid and justify the policy of the royal dictatorship government the RCP slogans ring out. Then, in their speeches, the true representatives of the proletariat criticized the royal dictatorship regime which had brought a sharpening of the exploitation of workers, worsening of the popular masses' living conditions and restriction of democratic rights and freedoms. They also condemned the tendency to an increasing line of concessions to Hitlerist Germany,



which were endangering Romania's independence, also bringing out the true nature of 1 May, which should be 'an international day of struggle to unchain the workers from capitalist exploitation and for worker rights and claims' and against fascism and for peace and understanding among peoples. The Communists called the working class to fortify their unity of action to defend peace and they condemned closing of the enslaving Romanian-German treaty of March 1939, requesting the workers to close ranks to defend Romania's economic and political independence and its territorial integrity.

"Following the end of the three meetings, the participants met again around 1200 in Piata Romana, from where they were to follow the route of Calea Victoriei, Splaiul Independentei, Str. 11 Iunie, Carol Park (today Freedom Park). The action took place in conformity with the organization committee's plan, with compact groups of workers mingling among the demonstrators all along the route.

"From 4,000-5,000 persons, the number of demonstrators rose to 20,000. I recall that party calls began to resound from the columns so that once they had arrived in front of the royal palace the demonstrators were shouting: Long live 1 May, the day of labor, long live the united worker front. Equal pay for equal work! Peace, bread, land, freedom! We want a free and independent Romania! We want respect for borders! Down with Hitlerism! Let us meet the aggressor! Long live the popular antifascist front!' Among the slogans used by the RCP were those which condemned the fascist organizations: 'Down with the Iron Guard! Down with Guardism! Down with Hitlerist agents! Down with the agents, who are traitors to the country!' At the moment when some Iron Guard groups outside the columns tried to recite fascist slogans, the demonstrators promptly retorted: 'We want our rights! We want peace, down with fascism!' King Carol II, who had come out on the palace balcony, had to listen to the true voice of the people.

"I want to stress the feeling of solidarity, of firm faith in the workers' united forces, who had separated from the 20,000 demonstrators. The repressive organs themselves had to admit: 'Calea Victoriei looked like a field of revolutionary demonstration!' This was the result of minute preparations, of joining legal with illegal activity and of the flexible tactics proven by the RCP, which rejected narrow, sectarian actions which had come from some advice outside Romania.

"Having arrived at the Bucharest police chief commissioner's office, thousands of demonstrators demanded with fist raised as a salute the freedom of those antifascist political prisoners and imprisonment of the fascist elements, who were traitors to the country. Another gesture of solidarity I recall with emotion: Throughout the revolutionary events that day, the Red Aid teams gathered voluntary contributions for material aid to the antifascist political prisoners being held in prisons. After the demonstration ended at its final point in Carol Park (now Freedom Park), where a wreath was placed on the Tomb of the Unknown Hero, the Communists received instructions from the 1 May organization committee to continue their revolutionary actions in the afternoon during the picnic organized for the worker stadium in the Ferentari neighborhood. Reports of the security agents signaled that the main organizer 'of the various manifestations of a communist nature' during the stadium celebration were those



same 'well-known communists' who had been conspicuous during the Tomis Hall meeting and along the demonstration route. Among them were Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin David, Anton Moisescu, Alexandru Iliescu, Ion Ionescu, Ion Boila, Isac Feldman, Ilie Capatina, Loti Foris, Ofelia Manole, Gheorghe Gheorghe."

Beyond their broad domestic and international response, the events of May 1939, the author said in closing, were sent with time as a proof of the struggle carried out by the working class to defend Romania against the fascist danger and as a prestigious victory in creating the working class' unity of action.

George Macovescu, chairman of the Union of Writers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in his report entitled "Participation of intellectuals alongside the working class and democratic forces in the 1939 struggles against fascism and for democratic freedom and defense of Romanian independence" referred to the active contribution of the intellectuals to the struggle to safeguard the basic interests of the Romanian nation, broadly dwelling on 1939, a year which for Romania marked a rise in the dangers it had to cope with under pressure from the wave of Hitlerist and revisionist expansion. In this framework he brought out the influence exercised on the intellectuals by the great anti-fascist and antiwar demonstration of 1 May 1939, the big battle which included communist and democratic journalists from Bucharest.

"There are unanimous feelings about the significance of the 1 May 1939 events in bringing out our people's possibilities and decisions and of their revolutionary and democratic forces headed by the RCP to defend Romania's freedom and independence at any sacrifice. One day after 1 May 1939, the newspaper IASUL published an article entitled 'The Workers' Patriotism' signed by George Ivascu. The dominant idea stressed by the author regarding the revolutionary actions on 1 May is that of the national responsibility of the working class and its determined and creative patriotism. 'The events of recent years which led to abolishment of four national states had a deep response in the souls of the workers, who felt threatened in this way the very foundations of peace and progress. The Romanian worker feels closely tied with this Romanian land where he works, which nourishes him, which gives him his little place under the sun and the security of tomorrow. The patriotism of the workers cannot be doubted. It is more ardent today than ever before, since today more than ever the country is the very symbol of the action of defense against its enemies, declared enemies or not, outright enemies or those in the shadows.'

"As a reflection of the desire to defend the country in the face of the ever more threatening dangers we have the publicist campaign to unmask the reactionary, noxious and aggressive nature of the Hitlerist theories on vital space and nonexistence of the right of small peoples to independence, we have racism, smothering of spiritual freedom and other antihuman theories. Placing these 'principles' of Nazi policy in practice means violating the right of each people to a free existence and eliminating any possibilities for cooperation among nations, justification of the revisionist-expansionist policy promoted by the fascist states, primarily Hitlerist Germany.

"The hand of Nazi Germany through what it had most hateful--terrorism as a political weapon--was extending more and more threateningly over Romania, which actually remained isolated at the foreign level in the face of the Hitlerist danger. On the order of the Third Reich leaders, on 21 September 1939 Prime Minister Armand Calinescu was assassinated by a team of Iron Guardists, the direct agents of Nazism in Romania. In those moments, expressing the state of spirit of public opinion, among the newspapermen who branded the assassination, Miron Radu Paraschivescu wrote 'At the Head of Armand Calinescu' in TARA NOUA on 24 September 1939. Proceeding from the finding that 'Armand Calinescu was an adversary of this legion of murderers, precisely since he was taking action in the name of and in the natural consensus of our national history,' the author concluded that through this assassination 'it was not a man who was killed, it was not the country's prime minister who was killed treacherously,' but rather 'a crime committed against the country itself.'

Recalling several aspects of the intellectuals' participation in the general antifascist struggle of the Romanian people in 1939 leads to the conclusion, the author said, that they became involved alongside the other patriotic and democratic forces in the difficult yet in the end victorious confrontation with the fascist, Hitlerist forces.

Stefan Voitec, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and vice chairman of the Council of State, presented the report entitled "Achievement of the United Workers Front in April 1944--a result of the joint struggle of all workers against fascism and for a free and independent Romania," from which we present the following excerpts:

"The long and tumultuous history of the workers movement in Romania and, within it, the history of the period following World War I, prove that the unity of the working class and its political and professional forces always was the solid guarantee of progress and victories while discord was the source of stagnation and regression and of defeats.

"Even from its appearance on Romania's political arena, our working class asserted itself as the most progressive, united and combative social force. Its unity and combativeness originated in the identity of class interests and desires brought by the specific national realities and by the basic problems of Romania's development and was powerfully influenced by the ideas of scientific socialism. This brought our workers movement, from the start, esteem and praise from the classics of Marxism, who felt that it in no way was lower than the other worker and socialist movements in the world.

"Founding of the Social Democrat Party of Workers of Romania in 1893, together with raising the working class' struggle to a higher step, also marked the strengthening of its political, ideological and organizational unity, thus increasing its role and influence on all the social-economic development of modern Romania. Acting as a single revolutionary party of the entire working class, the Social Democrat Party of Workers of Romania organized and led many social-economic and political revolutionary actions, carried out rich Marxist theoretical activity and mass culture and, at the same time, developed broad relations of collaboration and mutual aid with the socialist and workers movements in other countries.

"Its class unity and consolidation of it and the masses' united struggle continued to characterize the political and trade union activity of the socialist movement, which, from the start of the century, was asserting itself more and more powerfully on both sides of the Carpathians.

"The unity of the workers and socialist movement was proven very fully on the occasion of the establishment of the united Romanian national state as well as during the revolutionary struggles following World War I which culminated in the general strike of October 1920. But, as we know, the workers movement was to be put to a hard test with the split caused in the ranks of the workers movement in Romania and everywhere at the start of the 20's. This was due on one hand to the bourgeoisie's policy of dividing the working class and, on the other, to some foreign factors which joined in the evil work of splitting the workers and socialist movement nationally and internationally.

"Despite the split, continually in the center of concerns with the workers movement in Romania was the basic problem of unity as a constant and dominant trend which was to be asserted fully during the struggles of the years of economic crisis, on 1 May 1939 and it was to find its crowning moment of historic significance in the United Workers Front concluded in April 1944 by the RCP and the SDP and announced to the entire working class and the entire Romanian nation in the Program Manifesto, which would bear the date of 1 May 1944, a lofty call to unity and struggle.

"It should be emphasized that during the difficult period of the division, the decisive force of the unity of action fully demonstrated its effectiveness in the activity and struggles of the branch unions of miners, petroleum workers, port workers and private functionaries who, due to some favorable situation, did not know the burden of splits, with their activity and struggle taking place without interruption within a unified organizational framework and in an atmosphere of productive and real comradely cooperation, shoulder to shoulder, with Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and nonparty workers. It was a vivid example, a deeply graphic one, that, no matter how hostile the circumstances, no matter how clever the plots, class unity was possible and could be maintained over and above the ideological and political dissensions.

"As a result of the inestimable importance of the Romanian Communist Party's cooperation with the other socialist organizations, we have the reorganization of trade union unity in 1935-1936 in the single organizational framework of the General Confederation of Labor. The clear results of this regrouping would be felt without interruption, with the trade union movement growing in force, combativeness and prestige. It was the prelude to the great and final class concentration. In the difficult period which followed, ties were kept between Communists and Socialists and contacts were extended and searches multiplied and RCP initiatives were retaken and extended to achieve the unity of action of the workers parties as the main support for a broad coalition of the national antifascist forces.

"In the years of the Antonescu dictatorship and the Hitlerist war, the Romanian Communist Party militated for creation of the National Anti-Hitlerist Front,

comprising all the antifascist parties and political groupings and all Romanian patriots. The basis for this had to be the unity of action and of views of the two workers parties with regard to the tasks belonging to the proletariat at that crossroads in the history of Romania. 'Without the unity of the working class the unity of struggle cannot be organized successfully for the national emancipation of the Romanian people,' as stressed in the RCP Central Committee Circular of July 1941, while the program Platform of the RCP Central Committee on 6 September 1941 drew as a main task for all Communists that they work to create the single front of the working class in the enterprises with the Social Democrats, National Peasants and those nonparty members. However, at the same time, the single front had to be achieved with the Social Democrat Party, with its central and local leaders, against fascism, the common enemy.'

"One may say that the necessary psychological atmosphere was created for faith and united actions. The year 1943 was one of initiatives and contacts, of common actions. In January the RCP Central Committee proposed to the Executive Committee of the SDP an agreement for a single front for common activity with a view to defending the vital interests of the working masses against the Hitlerists and the Antonescu regime and joint efforts to unite the patriotic and progressive forces into one broad National Anti-Hitlerist Front; comprising a joint committee made of representatives of the RCP Central Committee and the Executive Committee of the SDP; establishing a joint program of action; concluding an agreement on the basis of any point from the 6 September 1941 platform or any specific proposal coming from the SDP Executive Committee. In February that year, the broadened SDP leadership unanimously adopted two basic resolutions: one referring to the unity of political action of the two workers parties and the other, in connection with the organization of a single trade union movement recognized as urgent needs of the time. As was also natural, these decisions provided a new stimulus to relations between the leaders of the two parties.

"The fact that the Communist International dissolved on its own in May 1943 was looked on positively both by the Communists as well as the Social Democrats, while some cadres in the SDP leadership even felt that the time had come finally to eliminate the split and achieve the single working class party, especially since the interference from the Socialist International in Social Democratic activity had ceased. Together with the decision on the RCP tasks following dissolution of the Communist International, the RCP Central Committee again addressed 'all political parties and organizations' during June, calling on them to form a national committee for struggle for Romania's liberation, with the immediate task being 'to mobilize and unite all Romania's national forces, regardless of party, in the single Anti-Hitlerist Patriotic Front of the Romanian People.'

"In the fall and winter, 1943-1944, treaties between the RCP and SDP leadership continued, being finalized 35 years ago with creation of the united workers front. In joint agreement, the leaders of the two parties decided that news of achievement of the united workers front would be made known to public opinion in the 1 May 1944 Manifesto, broadly disseminated throughout the country by militant Communists and Social Democrats and many sympathizers.



"Creation of the united workers front strengthened the leading role of the working class in the resistance movement, exercised a powerful influence on the other social classes and patriotic political groupings and on public opinion, placed the bases for preparing the proletariat to take action with weapons in hand with a view to overthrowing the Antonescu dictatorship and driving the German Nazi troops out of the country. Working class unity was the basic support upon which was built the broad coalition of forces which created the political framework needed in a short time to carry out the August 1944 insurrection.

"Creation of the unity of action of our working class in April 1944 was a happy beginning to the historic reconciliation in our workers movement and the guarantee of decisive successes on an uncrushable foundation which was and is worker unity. Today it is deeply reflected in the granite cohesion of the entire party and all workers regardless of nationality and all our people around the RCP Central Committee, around the party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the struggle to implement the party program and the historic decisions established by the 11th party congress for the happiness of our nation and for consolidating and defending independence and national sovereignty and for raising Romania's prestige all over the world."

Emil Bobu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, presenting the report entitled "RCP policy of achieving and consolidating working class unity in the struggle for the triumph of the democratic-popular revolution and the victory of socialism in Romania," pointed out that the party's effort to achieve the proletariat's unity of action was a dominant feature of all its activity, which led to achieving the full cohesion of our workers movement and to creating the single party of the working class.

"Under the new historical conditions created by the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic power of the proletariat and the peasantry on 6 March 1945," he showed in his report, "there was no interruption in the consolidation of the working class' positions in Romania's political and social life and there was multilateral development of the unity of all the democratic forces. This fact is most conclusively expressed by the victory of the democratic forces in the November 1946 general elections, a victory whose result was the numerical increase and achievement of decisive positions by the representatives of the working class in the government and the establishment of a democratic parliament, an important instrument in the struggle for the revolutionary change of Romania.

"In the process of Romania's social-economic development and the growth in the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses to achieve all political power in the state, it became absolutely necessary to achieve the full organizational and political unity of the working class."

Referring to the high significance of achieving political, ideological and organizational unity of the working class through creation of the single party in February 1948, the speaker said:



"The years which have passed since creation of the full unity of the workers movement in Romania prove the validity of the line promoted by the RCP and the forms and methods used to consolidate working class unity and are an important contribution to enriching the theoretical and practical battle treasury of the international workers movement.

"The main idea brought out by the analysis of the entire process of achieving and consolidating working class unity is that the unity could be achieved due to the fact that both parties--the RCP and the SDP--proved constant concern so one must proceed from Romanian realities and the demands for fulfilling the tasks of the revolution in all the actions undertaken, jointly or separately. Reflecting this attitude, the report on the draft statute presented to the unification congress in February 1948 stressed the following very important and current ideas: 'We have listened to the voice of the working class, the voice of history itself, the voice of our revolutionary awareness when we traveled this road and we only did our Marxist duty.' This same orientation, of being powerfully anchored in Romanian realities, also is noted in the political report presented to the unification congress which formulated a particularly mobilizing evaluation: 'We have everything we need to fulfill the historic mission which our democratic system has taken upon itself to eliminate our economic backwardness' and to 'change Romania into an agrarian-industrial progressive country and assure a high standard of living for the working masses.'

"Unification of our workers movement through the way in which it was conceived and achieved had a powerful response internationally. The Romanian example demonstrated both that working class unity is indispensable for the victory of the socialist revolution as well as that this unity can take different forms depending on the specific conditions in each country and that the creation of the single party on principled bases opens broad field of manifestation for all militants of the workers movement in social-political life and of the rise in the influence of the working class on all social and political life."

In the report entitled "Combining the struggle to carry out the socialist revolution in Romania with solidarity with the international communist and workers movement--a definitive feature of the international policy of the Romanian Communist Party," given by Cristea Chelaru, secretary of the Iasi County Party Committee, he stressed that the RCP, steadfastly acting to implement the policy of the multilateral building of the socialist country, at the same time is demonstrating constant and principled concern with strengthening relations of collaboration and solidarity with all communist and workers parties and with progressive and anti-imperialist revolutionary forces throughout the world.

Stefan Mocuta, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and first secretary of the Cluj County Party Committee, gave the report on "Increasing the party's leading role--a decisive factor in the cohesion and unity of all the people and of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society in our country."

As the author pointed out, "this historic role is brought out particularly strikingly by the party's ability to actively assert itself in the life of Romanian society as a powerful catalyzer of the energies of the broad masses and as a factor of unification, cohesion and mobilization of the creative forces, of the wisdom, management spirit and selflessness of the working class and all the people in a single direction--that of the superior utilization of the material and human resources Romania has available in full consensus with the stringent demands of the modern scientific-technical revolution with a view to implementing the inspiring goals set by the 11th party congress and the national party conference.

"The lines of force of this high stimulative role draw their vigor from the revolutionary and mass nature of the Romanian Communist Party and from the high professional, political and moral qualities of the more than 2.84 million members and from the predominantly worker composition of it and its well-consolidated organizational structure, reflecting the powerful presence of the party in the basic areas of socialist construction.

"Added to all these integrating factors is the party's steadfast policy of continually strengthening the unity, fraternity and solidarity between all workers--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--and of the harmonious social-economic development of all counties and locations in Romania for the full manifestation, on the basis of full equality of rights throughout social and economic life, of all citizens regardless of nationality, who contribute to cementing even more powerfully the moral-political unity of all the people and to the development and deepening of the homogenization process of our socialist society.

"From the mission of the Romanian Communist Party as the headquarters, the nucleus, the vital center of society comes the need to work out the program, the strategy and tactics of building the new social system and the scientific leadership of the revolutionary process on the basis of objective laws which govern the progress of society on the road of social development.

"The Communist Party is fulfilling this mission through the following functions: It expresses the communist ideology which is at the basis for creating and developing socialist society and theoretically substantiating the workers' and all the people's ideals, developing creatively the scientific concept of the working class of the world and society through generalization and synthesizing of historical experience and through a correct interpretation of the new process, relationships and phenomena and the newest results of human knowledge; it establishes the general policy line and strategically basic goal for each historical stage, the tactical goals and the ways and means of implementing them in accordance with the basic interests of the workers and the objective development of history; it mobilizes workers and unites the efforts of all the people for exemplary implementation of the party's program and its domestic and international policy; it works out and achieves the judicious policy of selecting, educating and promoting leadership cadres in all areas of activity; it conceives of the program for formation and development of the masses' socialist awareness and conducts the practical activity of forming the

new man, a multilaterally developed man in whose personality are blended the highest sciences with the most progressive awareness; it maintains and develops ties of friendship, collaboration and solidarity with all the communist and worker parties and with progressive forces everywhere and it participates in the theoretical compilation and promotion of the new principles of the relations between communist and worker parties and between nations, peoples and states; it exercises control over all the state, mass and public organs and organizations with regard to implementation of the party program and policy.

"The leading role of the Romanian Communist Party as the vital center, the nucleus around which our entire society gravitates is not an 'ideal toward which Romania is heading, but an historical reality achieved, known and recognized with admiration by all our people. This recognition is the natural result of the theoretical, ideological, political and organizational activity carried out by the party and of the competence and devotion with which it has served and does serve the cause of the Romanian people, progress and peace; it is the result of the successes which the working people have obtained under the party's leadership in building the new social system and in raising their standard of living and civilization."

The report entitled "The Working Class' exercising of its historic role as the leading social force in creating the multilaterally developed socialist society" by Constantin Stanciu, party committee secretary at the Bucharest Timpani Noi Enterprise, stressed the role played by the working class and its revolutionary party in Romania's social-political life and in the struggle to create a new society, a stranger to any exploitation of man, and to achieve the centuries-old aspirations of our people to be the complete masters of their fates and to build an independent and flourishing country through their free labor.

"Creation of the multilaterally developed socialist society--a product of the unity and fraternity of the Romanian, Hungarian, German workers and those of other nationalities" was the subject of the report by Ferdinand Nagy, first secretary of the Covasna County Party Committee; he brought out that the process of socialist construction in Romania shows the RCP's ability to solve the general and specific tasks of building the new system scientifically and, within them, the national problem, assuring true economic, political and legal equality for all citizens of the country.

Leonte Rautu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, chairman of the Leadership Council, rector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy presented the report entitled "New unity in the international communist and workers movement. The dialectical relationship between the autonomy and solidarity of the communist and workers parties," from which we present the following excerpts:

"The contemporary world is experiencing a process of pronounced acceleration of historic development. Amidst a multitude of contradictions, very diversified in type, the objective historical trend of the movement of humanity to socialism on the world level is occurring in an inexorable manner. An

essential element of this process is the considerable widening of the expanse of social forces vitally interested in superceding capitalism, imperialism and the policy of domination and diktat, the grave dangers which threaten the peace and the very destiny of mankind.

"Related to the concrete problems which the contemporary period raises and the diversity of objectives and of social forces concerned with the innovational transformation of society, the mission of the communist and workers parties today has a more complex and richer content than in the past. In the view of our party, the execution of the great historic mission assigned to the communists demands that they be in the first ranks of the struggle for the peaceful, democratic solution of international problems, for the implementation of principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and renunciation of force and threats of force in relations among states.

"The new realities, the new requirements which result from the expansion of the world revolutionary process, from the extreme diversity of the ways in which it is manifested, from the radical modifications which the political map of the world is undergoing, all prove that an absolutely necessary condition for the realization by the communist parties, by the communist and workers movement in general, of the historic mission of the revolutionary transformation of society, the uniting of all progressive anti-imperialist forces is the full affirmation of the new type of unity, the enrichment of the concept of international solidarity and its adaptation to the realities to today's world. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We view the concept of international solidarity in the context of the immense revolutionary changes which are produced in the world, so that it encompasses both the unity of the socialist countries, of the communist and workers parties, and of the working class and the support of the national liberation movements, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against underdevelopment, for the establishment of a new international economic order, the achievement of disarmament and the struggle for the respecting of the right of each people to be master of its fate."

"There has existed in the past and, unfortunately, there is still being manifested here and there an erroneous understanding of the relationship between general and particular, between national and international, a tendency toward the mechanical counterposing of these two aspects of social dynamics, their artificial hierarchization, attitudes of suspicion in regard to the affirmation of the autonomy and responsibility of each party in working out and implementing its political line, which results from the application of general truths of revolutionary theory to particular national situations and specific conditions of the contemporary period.

"However, the essence of the new type of unity resides, first of all, in an understanding of the profoundly dialectical relationships between general and particular, between national and international, in the unconditional recognition of the objective fact that the communist and workers parties carry on their activity in a great diversity of situations determined by historical,



social and national peculiarities, which differ from one country to another, from one stage to another and, as a result, the unity of the communist and workers parties cannot be a so-called monolithic unity, but a unity in diversity. From this evolves, in the second place, not only the right but also the obligation of each party to creatively apply the theory of scientific socialism to concrete realities, to find the methods most suited to the demands of the revolutionary struggle, to the innovative transformation of society to make an original contribution to revolutionary theory and practice. Guided by the fundamental ideas of the great thinkers and revolutionaries, Marx, Engels and Lenin, and studying the works of other eminent thinkers produced by the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the RCP is treating the theory of scientific socialism and of dialectical and historical materialism in an innovative, antidogmatic militant spirit, persistently stressing that Marxist theory is not a closed system, a collection of intangible precepts and canons, but an authentically revolutionary and authentically scientific outlook which is continually being developed as a result of the achievements of science and of human knowledge, continually confronting its theses and conclusions with the teachings of history and reality.

"Based on such a view of revolutionary theory and practice, the new type of unity necessitates the strict respecting of the right of each party and state to establish, autonomously, its political line and its revolutionary tactics and strategy, without any outside interference, as well as the respecting of relations among parties based on full equality, esteem and mutual respect.

"These are not merely premises of unity, as has been stated in some works published abroad, but the very essence of the establishment and the full affirmation of the new type of unity. Such a unity excludes the idea of any center under any form in which it might manifest itself and excludes the existence of any leading force or of any hierarchy in the communist and workers movement and the idea that someone can be the possessor of ultimate truths. It presupposes joint efforts, efforts of solidarity, permeated by the internationalist spirit, of fraternal parties equal in rights, in the struggle for common goals and ideals.

"Our party has pointed out more than once that the free confrontation of opinions on current problems of theory and policy, a confrontation carried on in an atmosphere of complete mutual respect, represents an imperative for the innovative treatment of revolutionary theory, a method whose application is essential so that Marxist theory can give adequate scientific responses to some burning issues of our times and interpret the meaning of the extremely complex and contradictory processes which characterize this period.

"As we know, many discussions have taken place and are taking place in the communist and workers movement in connection with eurocommunism. The position which our party has adopted in regard to these discussions is known; it is inspired by the concepts of the principles and essence of the new type of unity. Setting aside the term itself, which is not free from ambiguity, the RCP has stressed the agreement which the party has with the efforts of some



parties in developed capitalist countries - to work out, autonomously, a strategic and tactical outlook in accordance with the historic and national realities in the respective countries, with a view to the achievement of structural democratic transformations and advancement toward socialism. Of course, different opinions in regard to the positions of these parties can be expressed and are being expressed in the communist movement, but the existence of such opinions should not, in any case, justify labels or court cases, just as the evaluation of theses or solutions, formulated by the parties mentioned, in the spirit of narrow concepts of the single model for moving from capitalism to socialism is not justified. All these things do not rule out but presuppose, in our opinion, the objective examination by fraternal parties in capitalist countries of the achievements and experiences of the parties in countries in which the socialist transformation of society has been achieved. The inevitable diversity of political tactic and strategies should not lead to the counterposition of some parties to others, to the denial of experiences and methods verified in practice, or to the absolutizing of new concepts or solutions formulated under certain specific conditions.

"Concerned with the development of the solidarity of the communist and workers parties, with the complete implementation of the principle of unity, we are also aware of the need, confirmed by life, to intensify collaboration among the communist parties, on the one hand, and among the socialists and social democratic parties, on the other hand, both on the national level and on the international level. The complexity of the problems which can appear and which are appearing on the path of collaboration in one country or another, in one field or another, and the existing differences of an ideological nature should not, in the conviction of our party, affect the perseverant efforts of the communist parties in the direction of achieving and developing this collaboration.

"An important factor for contemporary social progress is a relationship of solidarity with national liberation movements, with government parties in the developing countries, in the nonaligned countries, and with other democratic parties and currents. Our party places this broad international collaboration in the context of the objective necessity of uniting the energies of all forces which are in favor of social progress and national independence and sovereignty and against imperialism and underdevelopment, against vestiges of colonialism and neocolonialism and against tendencies to divide the world into spheres of influence.

"History demonstrates convincingly that the victory of a revolutionary strategy on the national level and on the international level is inseparably tied to the achievement and the tempering of the unity of the forces involved in the struggle. Therefore, the new type of unity, one of whose foremost promoters is our party, represents the most precious political value of the revolutionary forces of contemporary life, having as its backbone the international communist and workers movement."

Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Sciences and the Study of the National Problem, gave the report entitled "The policy of the Romanian Communist Party to strengthen the unity, collaboration and solidarity of all

the socialist countries, the communist and workers parties and all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society and for peace and social progress," referring to the qualitative elements which define the policy of the RCP and of socialist Romania. This active policy of the Romanian Communist Party and of Romania, the author noted, is being carried out not only in the development of the bilateral and multilateral relations of our party and state, but, at the same time, is able to exercise and exercise effectively a positive influence on the development, collaboration, unity and solidarity between the socialist countries, between the communist and workers parties and between all the anti-imperialist forces.

We know the anxiety caused our party by aggravation of the differences among some of the socialist countries in recent months, conflicts brought by these differences in southeastern Asia. The clear, firm, fully committed and in no way neutral position taken by our party toward these conflicts has been a substantial contribution to overcoming this particularly difficult and dangerous point in the relations between some communist parties and socialist countries, at the same time, having special significance for the long-range evolution of relations between the communist and workers parties and the socialist countries. Among these is the firm, open and consistent situation not favoring one or the other of the parties involved in the conflict but on the side of the sacred principles of independence and sovereignty and of solving the problems which have appeared by political means between the sides concerned and rejecting any form of unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of certain socialist states which in no way and under no circumstance may be motivated; also, there is the reaffirmation of the conviction that the use of force and threatening with force cannot solve any kinds of problems but merely can complicate and aggravate them, representing a serious danger to peace in the zone as well as peace in the world. Also, there is great principled and political importance in the analysis of the causes leading to the maintenance of differences between some of the communist and workers parties and between some of the socialist countries and the means for overcoming them. Our party again has expressed its firm conviction with the value of a scientific, ideological and political creed that socialism by nature is a stranger to conflicts, antagonism, wars between the countries in which it has been victorious. But the road toward this status, which is the road toward the new kind of unity, must overcome the obstacles created by the problems inherited from the past or which have appeared under the conditions of socialism. Failure to solve these problems by the means and ways belonging to this quality of socialism and failure to respect the principles resulting from this quality and violation of them do not lead to overcoming of the differences but to maintaining and aggravating them and even to the degeneration of them into military conflicts.

Finally, third, I can only mention in closing the broad significance which the Romanian Communist Party gives to the category of international solidarity, which refers to the militant cooperation with all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. In a world whose total problems seem to be growing and multiplying as we discover the limits inherent in the world, there are more and more problems involving the working class, other classes and social categories, progressives, many and diverse groups and parties, political or professional organizations where the particular classes and groups are

organized. Under these conditions, the Romanian Communist Party's view on the content of international solidarity is the condition for its openings at the level of the broadest possible collaboration with some of the most diverse forces whose actions contribute to counteracting the backward tendencies which continue to be demonstrated and to strengthening the positions of the advanced forces which are coming out for a more just and more secure world and for progress.

In closing the work of the session, the participants sent Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu a telegram in which they express their recognition and deep homage to the beloved leader of our party and our people, with whose consistently revolutionary, patriotic and internationalist activity are linked pages of the glorious tradition of the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party and the historic achievements of our people gained in building the new society and affirmation of Romania as an active and constructive factor in the international arena.

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## ROMANIA

### COMINTEEN CRITICISM OF STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM RECALLED

Bucharest SCINTELA in Romanian 17 Jun 79 pp 1, 4

[Article by Dr Ion Spalateanu: "Fearless, in the Forefront of the Struggle Against Fascism and for the Defense of Fundamental National Interests"]

[Text] With the forthcoming glorious celebration during this summer of the 35th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascist domination, it is natural for us to recall the rich traditions of the struggle against fascism carried out by the Romanian people under the leadership of its communist party. Actually, the armed national insurrection in August 1944, after which the fascist dictatorship was overthrown and Romania committed its entire human and material potential to the struggle for the defeat of Nazi Germany, represented a continuation and a crowning moment of the struggle against reaction and fascism as carried out by the patriotic and progressive forces of Romanian society from long before the beginning of the second world war.

The history of the this struggle, whose standard and leader was the Romanian Communist Party, clearly demonstrates the political far-sightedness of the party, the heroism and its revolutionary sacrifices and, above all, the boundless devotion to the fundamental national interests and the decisiveness and consistency with which these interests were defended when faced with "the most ferocious enemy of the nation," as fascism was correctly characterized in a document of the time.

"Fascism - A Element Foreign to the Romanian Spirit and Sensibilities"

As is known, the years that followed the first world war marked the rise of fascism to power in Hungary (1920), Italy (1922), Bulgaria (1923) and later in Germany (1933) and other countries. This fact had negative consequences for both those people and other people and represented an encouragement for the ultrareactionary forces everywhere, creating a grave danger for the peoples' freedom and for world peace and security. In this context, tendencies were also more clearly expressed in Romania by the reactionary top levels of the bourgeoisie and landowners by encouraging the fascist groups. The most negative result of the activities of the

domestic and foreign reactionary groups was the creation of the fascist type terrorist organization, the "Iron Guard," which became an agency of Nazi Germany in our country and led a profoundly anti-national, anti-popular, anti-worker and anti-communist policy, boding working for the submission of our country to Hitlerist Germany. The "Iron Guard" sought to build its road to power by combining with its activities acts of terrorism and individual and mass assassinations of the likes never before known in the social-political life of our country. It also had a broad social demogogy and cultivated certain of the most retrograde and anti-human concepts filled with an obscurantist spirit and an exacerbated nationalism to the final degree.

It is well known that the ideology and actions of the "Iron Guard," that were totally opposed to the interests and aspirations of the Romanian people and foreign to their psychic and moral nature and their democratic and humanist traditions, stirred up a profound rejection and repulsion among the broad masses. The people's authentic values were against the infection of public opinion by the morbid fascism, incriminating, as the writer George Mihail Zamfirescu said, these "borrowed ideologies... which will never correspond to the Romanian spirit and sensibilities."

#### "The Fundamental Task of the Party - Combat the Poisoned Stench of Fascism"

In the forefront of the anti-fascist struggle, as an exponent and firm defender of the fundamental interests of the people, the Romanian Communist Party was consistently there. It is the party's historical merit to have been the sole political force that clearly foresaw, right from the first expressions of fascism in social-political life, the grave danger that fascism represented for democracy, for the values of our national culture and human civilization and for the independence, territorial integrity and the national existence of Romania itself. The unmasking of the anti-national and anti-popular, obscurantist nature of fascism for the purpose of making the broad masses of the population aware of the danger represented by fascism and of mobilizing and unifying them in the anti-fascist struggle, constituted an essential facet of the party's activities that used the most diverse means of struggle to this end - legal and illegal activities, numerous democratic and mass anti-fascist organizations under its influence and the revolutionary and democratic press. "Before our party," as it was stressed in a party document in August 1936, "stands the urgent task of creating a mass political literature that will discuss before the broad popular masses all the current daily domestic and foreign problems, counterbalancing the poisoning influence of the nationalist, chauvinist-fascist propaganda and literature." It is significant in the broad spread that this activity acquired in the fact that just in the period 1933-1938 the communist party or under its direct guidance published over 300 journals, with the call to the anti-fascist struggle of the party also echoing in numerous bourgeois-democratic publications.



With special clarity, the Romanian Communist Party showed the class essence of fascism to be an emanation of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. "The installation of a military-fascist dictatorship in Romania," warned the communist party, "would mean a bloody terrorist dictatorship of the tip of the capitalists and great landowners against the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities, the elimination of all parties, the pursuit of all progressive intellectual elements, the prohibition of any type of expression of free thought, boundless reaction and the throwing of Romania into a state of brutality and barbarity."

The Romanian Communist Party unmasked the policy of the bourgeois parties and the different governments of these parties of giving material and moral support to the "Iron Guards," a support generated by their hate and fear of the revolutionary activities of the working class and the progressive forces. When the head of the National Peasants Party, Iuliu Maniu, in his double-dealing policy, concluded a non-aggression pact, practically an electoral alliance, with the "Iron Guard," the Romanian Communist Party immediately took a position, pointing out that, by this pact, the National Peasants Party was allying itself "with the most rabid enemy of the people" instead of helping "the forces of the people against its hangmen."

#### "The Open Agents of Hitlerism in Romania"

With a special effort, the Romanian Communist Party revealed the conspiracy of this legionnaire movement with Hitlerist Germany and its massive financial support by the Hitlerist government.

In the article entitled, "Who Supports the Fascists," published in the illegal SCINTEIA of 1 October 1936, it was pointed out that "the fascist organizations in Romania need more money to support their troops ("nests" of legionnaires -- ed.) and to pay for the weapons with which they are equipped... Where do these funds come from? ...First of all, from Hitler..."

In emphasizing that the "Iron Guard" was working as an agency of fascist Germany and as an instrument serving its expansionist goals in this region, the Romanian Communist Party showed the grave threat that the activities of the fascist organizations represented for the independence and sovereignty of the country. "The fascists," noted a document of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee in 1935, "are the open agents of Hitlerism in Romania... By holding hands with Hitlerism and becoming its agents, the Romanian fascists are putting the national freedom of the Romanian people itself in danger." By noting that the placement of the legionnaire movement at the helm of the country would actually mean the complete submission of the country to Nazi

Germany, the party warned: "Hitler wants to carry off our grain, oil and territory. He wants to place us into slavery... The Romanian Communist Party states: the communists will fight with gun in hand in the front ranks." And, when the danger of a Hitlerist aggression against Romania had become imminent, the Romanian Communist Party called upon the people to mobilize "all their shining traditions of struggle" and issued orders to its members and sympathizers to report to military units to be ready to carry out their duty to the country.

At the same time, the party revealed the grave danger created by the conspiracy between the legionnaire movement and the Hitlerists for the territorial integrity of the country. "The Iron Guard chiefs," it was pointed out in one of the documents drawn up by the Romanian Communist Party toward the end of 1938, "reached an understanding with Hitler for the dismemberment of Romania... Hitlerist Germany and Italy is now inciting Hungary against our country. Reactionary Hungary, allied with fascist Germany, is working to break Transylvania away from Romania... The defense of the country cannot be carried out without an unwavering and relentless struggle against the enemies and against the "Iron Guard." In the name of these convictions, the communists were in the front ranks of the great protests carried out throughout the country against the odious Diktat of Vienna, through which the country was carved up.

We must mention, in this order of ideas, the negative repercussions that the 1940 Comintern Directives had upon the anti-fascist struggle in Romania. These Directives, addressed to the Romanian Communist Party, instead of appreciating the justice of the struggle against Nazi Germany and calling for the intensification of this struggle, criticized the Romanian communists for the activities carried out against the aggressive policies of Germany and for the position of defending the country's national independence. Being in contradiction with the political line of the party, the general needs of the entire workers movement and all people wanting freedom and the demands of the struggle against fascism and Hitlerist aggression, these directives provoked confusion in the party and, for a time, slowed its activities, with their negative effects being definitively eliminated when events themselves - the direct occupation of Romania by Nazi troops and its transformation into a forward position for Nazi aggression against the USSR - presented them with the most categorical refutation.

"To the Struggle Against Those Who Want to Delay Progress and Freeze Thinking!"

With special vigor, the communist party revealed the anti-popular and anti-democratic character of the arsenal of legionnaire ideas and actions, stressing that behind the slogans circulated with a lot of noise about the people and country there was hidden scorn for our own people, hate for the aspirations of the working masses to be the masters of their own fate and fear for the power of the many. The party also unmasked and

combatted the irrational and mystical nature of the legionnaire movement, the apology for force, the cult of death and the total lack of respect for the authentic values of Romanian spirituality, emphasizing that their propagators, who were "wanting to stop the wheel of history in its path and turn it into the dark and musty swamps of a new Middle Ages, are doing everything in their power to distort the truth, delay progress, reduce freedoms and freeze thinking."

In revealing the anti-national, anti-popular and obscurantist essence of fascism, the Romanian Communist Party had in mind that the forces of the right, as the newspaper CUVINTUL LIBER [Free Speech] wrote in 1936, "morally disarm the nation, endanger the spiritual unity and elan" and represented a factor for undermining the Romanian people's ability to fight during a period in which there was an immediate need to join together into a single movement all the energies for the defense of their legitimate national rights.

Precisely the unification of all the patriotic and democratic forces into a broad anti-fascist front was the central objective of the party's activities during this period (an aspect which will be the subject of the next article in this series). Life was to demonstrate that the unified struggle of the anti-fascist forces and the broad popular masses represented the factor which delayed for years the rise of fascism to power in our country and, later, during the dark years of the military-fascist dictatorship, the factor which ensured the historical victory in that hot August three and one-half decades ago.

8724

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

EXPOSURE OF GASOLINE THIEVES CONTINUES

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 24 May 79 p 10

[Article by Valeriu Rimniceanu and Ion Chilom. Second Installment; first installment published in JPRS 73679, 13 June 1979, TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, MILITARY AFFAIRS, No 1690, 1979, pp 112-115]

[Text] About two days after we published the first article about "gasoline thieves" we received a telephone call from an old acquaintance. "I read FLACARA and I understood why my car sometimes stalls or runs-on after I switch off the ignition. It was just normal; how else would it run with neophaline and "petrosin" mixed in with the gasoline! We have something else to ask: Can you take another problem off my mind? I am talking about gas mileage. I do not know what is happening. I went to mechanics and specialists, but they do not know. My car goes through periods when it inexplicably uses too much gasoline. Is there perhaps..."

We promised him that we would give him an answer in the second article on this subject. And... here it is. Yes, "the gasoline thieves" were also cheating the buyers by selling them smaller amounts of fuel than that which they paid for. How? By modifying the gas pump meters so that they would register 150-450 ml of fuel short for every 10 liters sold. Out of curiosity to see how much profit these cheats could make from this operation, let us do a little figuring. During the eight hours of operation daily, the seller sells approximately 4,00-5,000 liters of gasoline. If we figure that the average amount obtained by modifying the meter is 250 ml per ten liters, we get 100-125 liters stolen each day. By multiplying 100 by 4.5 lei, we find that such a scam, just on the amount sold, brings in 450 lei! We repeat: just by using this procedure and this is just an average!

Certainly, the gas station managers could not arrange by themselves for the pumps to give less gasoline than the amount shown on the meter. In order to do this, the seal on the metering device has to be broken, a seal that was put on with a special tool by a standards specialist. A special tool of this type is also kept by the mechanics and electricians at the maintenance enterprises belonging to the PECO [Centrals for the Sale of Petroleum Products] Enterprise. The conclusion: either the standards specialists,

the mechanics or the electricians in the enterprise's workshops took part in this operation. The guilty managers succeeded in corrupting one or the other. Without a doubt, it was easier for these managers, since, at the same time, they were already corrupt and, as we have seen, were already working on modifying the meters and the gasoline pump counters.

Through these types of operations, the managers Nina Berejeanu and Maria Balacciu at the "Maria Rosetti" PECO station came up with over 100 extra liters of gasoline daily for a period of three years. The same holds true for manager Florian Tintarescu of the "Dorobanti" PECO station. Similarly, with the help of mechanic Radu Tudor, cheaters Mihai Cenan and Stelica Cojocaru succeeded in stealing, just by modifying the meters at the "Caporal Ruica" PECO station, over 16,000 liters of gasoline valued at 72,000 lei.

The maintenance mechanics who were involved in the altering of the pumps were making truly fabulous sums of money. In addition to Iordan and Tudor, Daniel Popa was one of the most active "masters." He deprived the Bucharest PECO Enterprise of approximately one-half million lei by modifying the gas pump meters at the Dorobanti, Pipera, Chilita and Baneasa II stations, for a total of 93,000 liters of gasoline. During the period 1978-1979, this same Popa received 40,000 lei from just eight station managers. Out of fear of being exposed, since the money was coming in in piles, he tried to avoid the law by filling out a fictitious donation document whereby his relatives supposedly gave him the money, to the tune of 60,000 lei, and by buying a car (a Dacia 1300) for himself in his godfather's name. The cupidity of this Daniel Popa knew no limits. It got to the point where he was buying motor oil from some PECO station managers for five lei per liter (also obtained from illegal actions) and later selling it to other stations for 10 lei per liter!

Without a doubt, this type of violation, as well as the contamination of the gasoline, could have been discovered before the practice spread and brought damages if the organs authorized and required to check and examine the pumps, that is, the standards office, had correctly carried out their duties through all their representatives. Unfortunately, this did not happen and many workers were drawn into the fraudulent business carried out by the managers involved. Just as the control organs of the Bucharest PECO Enterprise had the opportunity to prevent these thefts if it had thought to review, from time to time, in an unbiased and serious manner, the correspondence between the amount of gasoline recorded on certain pumps and the amount actually delivered...

As we have already shown, in the vast majority of the enterprises and institutes in our country public property is protected with reverence, with the workers collectives, headed by communists, making sustained efforts



to reduce the consumption of energy and to judiciously manage those goods entrusted to them. There still are, however, exceptions. The lack of a strict control, superficiality and a "ho-hum" attitude on the part of some persons lead to damages to socialist property. In the investigations carried out in connection with the "gasoline thieves," the militia found that the vast majority of the guilty managers made significant profits from the gasoline coupons issued by socialist units. By buying these coupons for two lei per liter, Stelica Cocjocaru and Mihai Cenan acquired for their personal use 40,000 liters of gasoline, totalling 180,000 lei. Equally large sums of money were also made from using these coupons by managers Florea Popescu, Tita Dirjan, Ion Stancescu, Nina Berejeanu, Maria Balucci, Gheorghe Chitoran and others. We wonder: where did these drivers get coupons for hundreds and hundreds of liters of gasoline that could be sold for two lei per liter and even less? If the source of these excesses represents potential savings, then that means that the consumption norms in these units are not carefully established, a fact which permits drawing off gasoline from the enterprises' stocks by money-hungry drivers. If these coupons were stolen, the situation is just as grave, indicating in these cases an inappropriate management of property, poor accounting records and so forth.

We brought up the problem of gasoline coupons here to point out to those who are sensitive to these problems the need to urgently eliminate any opportunity to harm public property and to strengthen order and discipline in the management of property, especially those involving energy that are so important and valuable for our national economy.

Gasoline is also being stolen from socialist units by another method. The standard of living in our country has increased considerably and one of the indicators of this increase is the number of owners of private cars. The owners of these cars also work somewhere: in an enterprise, in an institute, at a work site... And, as you know, there are those who are always ready to fill-up on gasoline for free or nearly free! And, we must say it, there are still some units where the pumps are open, where you can fill-up on "horsepower."

At the end of April, the General Inspectorate of the Militia together with the Constanta County Militia took action to uncover those owners of private vehicles who were "procuring" their gasoline from the enterprises where they worked. This action involved treating the gasoline in three large units in Constanta County with a chemical substance which would permit identifying this gasoline by using a special type of paper. Naturally, this operation was carried out in secret and from the date the gasoline was treated until the check was made several days passed. What were the results?

First of all, let us note that there were no employees at the Port of Constanta and the Palas rail switching yard who were drawing gasoline for use in their private vehicles. In other words, good marks for these units.

At the I.U.G.C. Basarabi, things were a little different. Accompanied by the enterprise's technical director, the militia checked 26 vehicles belonging to employees at the I.U.G.C.. And... in 15 of these vehicles the treated gasoline was found in the gas tanks. Fifteen of 26 represents a percentage which says a lot about the manner in which public property is managed and protected at the I.U.G.C. Basarabi. Eleven of the 15 admitted that they had "procured" the fuel from different vehicles belonging to the enterprise. Ion Lolea, a technician, took 20 liters from a driver named Nita; Simion Cristian, a driver, got 10 liters from another driver; Aurel Duca, a mechanic, got the gasoline from the chief of a tractor column; Nicolae Popescu, a master mechanic, from Ion Toma, another driver; Tache got his from Bucur' Stanca from....

Four of those caught with gasoline stolen from the enterprises in their gas tanks - engineer Aurel Rosca, master mechanic Nicolae Virsan, mechanic Simion Moise and driver Dumitru Mircea - refused (even when faced with incontestable data) to admit that they had used gasoline from the units. "I do not know how this gasoline got into my car's gas tank," stated Rosca innocently. "Somebody put it there..." What level of awareness and what kind of moral values does this engineer have after stealing gasoline from the state when he does not have the courage to answer, shamelessly lying about it?

This new and very useful experiment, which will be also used in other counties, demonstrates that gasoline (because that is the subject of this article) is also being stolen in this manner, just as it shows us that theft is possible only where there are irregularities and where responsibility and professional care are lacking.

In order to eliminate in as short a time as is possible these acts against public property it is necessary for the responsible organs, management and the workers collectives to move without delay toward an energetic attitude against waste, unauthorized use of any type and against all those who do not do their duty in strictly protecting socialist property!

8724

CSO: 2700

BELGRADE LCY SECRETARY BUTULIJA INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1477, 29 Apr 79  
pp 12-14

[Article by Ratko Butulija, Belgrade LCY City Secretary: "The True State of Affairs"]

[Text] The action being taken by the Belgrade LCY, the most urgent "major" and "minor" political topics important to the life of the city, housing construction, investments, supply, young people, the university, and culture--these were the topics in our conversation with Ratko Butulija, secretary of the Belgrade LCY City Committee, who was "Our Guest," as we have come to call this feature in our magazine. We give below the authorized text of our guest's answers to the questions which were put to him.

The overall activity in the Belgrade LCY organization, whether we are talking about attaining the necessary ideological level, the fight for economic stabilization, housing construction, social self-protection and nationwide defense, personnel policy, or action toward socialization in certain domains of culture and information, has been instituted in such a way as to express as fully as possible the positions and policy of the 11th LCY Congress and the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia. In some of these activities the results have been notable, while in others they are still inadequate. The effort should be taken to the very heart of everyday life and should be initiated by party members and working people through self-managed bodies and organizations. Comrade Tito is constantly advising us that our current efforts should be practical and we should implement what has been declared.

Political Initiatives

There is every indication that it is precisely through action related to specific issues that a social awareness first matures concerning ways of dissolving them effectively. As a matter of fact we have good reason to

declare that in the past that awareness has mainly arisen out of practice itself and come up from the very roots, out of drive initiated by party members and the organizations and organs of the League of Communists. It has arisen, then, at the very base of our society. So, when we discuss current political initiatives and efforts of the League of Communists in Belgrade, the essence of the matter is that political life is developing mainly in organizations of associated labor and in local communities--there where things are being created and life is being lived. This is indeed the kind of political life that is inherent in the very nature of self-management resolution of the problems of business operation, development, the sharing of income, resolution of housing problems, distribution and the like. Nor can an effective political drive be conducted in local communities if it skirts the principal issues which can be resolved effectively only in the local community, issues like housing, supply, child welfare and the like.

For example, at the present time, when the problems of vocational education are arising with the full force of their relevance and of unresolved dilemmas and when they objectively spring up at the center of interest of the working people, especially parents and students, then the LCY cannot stand aloof from that.

But let us take the problems of supply in Belgrade. Why are we now putting these matters at the center of political efforts? Because they have become one of the most urgent problems in our city's life, touching upon the vital interest of every man and every organization of associated labor.

The same is the case with the problems of housing construction and distribution, for example.

But we are not raising these issues in order to remove the locus of decisionmaking concerning them to the party or the Socialist Alliance, nor so that we might replace the self-management organism and other entities, but precisely so as to lay the foundation for self-management decisionmaking. Political life should develop in a natural way concerning these issues through the effort of the League of Communists and other subjective entities, and questions which will furnish internal strength to the self-management effort should be raised and clarified in ideological terms. This kind of self-management political life in organizations of associated labor and in local communities is the basis of political life in the opstina and the city and also in society conceived more broadly. With this kind of approach we come closer to clarifying the very nature of politics in a self-managed society, by contrast with the bourgeois and bureaucratic conceptions, which give politics some sort of separate and superior position from which the so-called petty concerns in the life and work of the working people and citizens are suspended. At the base of society, in organizations of associated labor and local communities, politics and self-management are being expressed in the same terms and are merging.

The most important thing for us now is to overcome a certain duality in political life, that is, cases in which the sociopolitical activity of the subjective forces, the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions and others, represent one stream, while the processes of self-management decisionmaking, the work of delegations and delegates, and I would go so far as to say that the reason is inertia and ingrained habits. So, it is essential to see that all the wealth and diversity of self-management political life, which is manifested as an internal need and attribute of organizations of associated labor, be initiated, conveyed and fully expressed through the delegate system and decisionmaking.

#### Consensus

Conclusion of self-management accords is in the very nature of our socioeconomic and political system and lies at the foundations of its functioning.

We must therefore direct more decisive practical steps in all domains so that organizations of the League of Communists turn more essentially in the content and forms of their effort toward the flows of self-management decisionmaking and conclusion of accords. Without the League of Communists and the other subjective forces, without the Socialist Alliance, which puts efforts on a broad basis and rallies the working people and citizens, it is impossible to ensure adherence to principle in the conclusion of accords on an equal footing and especially the presence of the broader community and general public interest. Unless all the socialist forces participate in an organized way, technocratic monopolies will grow stronger, there will be liberalistic behavior and things like that. This is in fact what we are confronting now in practice. The degree of success of the sociopolitical commitment of the League of Communists and the other subjective forces is measured by the extent and manner of changes accomplished in self-management practice, by the amount of progress made in the conclusion of self-management accords, by the amount of socialist content, responsibility of all participants, etc., which they embody, and not only by how effectively debates are waged within the League of Communists itself. Wherever the accords and compacts are not respected, the effort of basic organizations of the League of Communists is not effective in those places either. In Belgrade at the present time we are emphasizing the question of responsibility in the enforcement of accords and compacts both in our political-ideological effort and also through self-management and government bodies.

This is in fact the answer to the question of why in party life we very often have a good discussion, good resolutions, but we are ineffective in carrying them out. In other words, every debate in an organization of the LCY must be directly related to an effort to resolve the issues that are involved. This is now the essential question in improving the methods of party work.

We must turn entirely toward the organized activity of the LCY within the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations



in raising the vital issues of all the interested working people and in commitment to those issues. On that basis we must carry the positions established in the realm of political ideology into the delegations and bodies of delegates, since this is what is most essential to the method of the LCY's activity within the delegate mechanism. That is our goal in Belgrade in our endeavor--which has already shown appreciable results--to strengthen the content of sections of the Socialist Alliance and then the role and content of the activity of delegations, social councils, delegate assemblies, and so on. There is ever stronger awareness of the direct responsibility of the LCY organization for the content of that activity. The work method of basic organizations of the LCY and the work method of opstina LCY conferences and the City LCY Conference and their committees, as political-executive bodies, must be adapted to that position and that responsibility. They should be more responsive, should raise specific issues more frequently and dynamically, and should further and guarantee implementation of the policy established. The most essential thing now is for us to make the League of Communists more capable of action in every milieu, so that party organizations are more militant and do not resign themselves to the status quo. We must build up the confidence of people who are standing up for principle and getting things going, but in some places there are cases when it is they who are suffering. This is something we must prevent at all costs. It is therefore extremely important for us to strengthen the position of the basic organization of the LCY within basic organizations of associated labor and make it more competent. It is strange, and to the party unacceptable, to see cases involving a certain opportunism, which happen at some times and in some places, involving people who look upon the ideological-political effort of the League of Communists as destroyers, who take a bourgeois attitude of waiting to see what will happen, to see whether the effort will die out, to see what is changing, where the emphasis is being put, and so on--always waiting for their predictions and none other to be realized.

The key task for today and the immediate future is to reestablish economic and political stability everywhere and to constantly build and strengthen unity concerning these and other issues within the League of Communists and throughout society. This should be everyone's point of departure, and everyone should see that this kind of orientation is achieved in every milieu. We should also keep this in mind when we are confronted by specific investment projects which must be kept within the limits of real income and when we must resolve important problems in distribution, and indeed when we face all the other questions that arise in economic activity and in the effort to increase income. We must prepare ourselves and organize ourselves better for still more difficult and problematical business conditions. We talked about this at a recent meeting of the city committee and scheduled talks in all party organizations. The economic measures which are taking effect are supposed to ensure more consistent implementation of the policy that has been established. They are now more rigorous because until quite recently we have been rather slack and indecisive. Stability assumes its full strength if it is achieved within the collectives of associated labor themselves and among them concerning these issues in operation and business relations which are

an everyday and long-term concern of the workers. It is especially important to find more effective solutions for investment policy and for the system of expanded reproduction. This is where there are the greatest shortcomings, since the system itself is weakest here. The future nature of relations in the sharing of income and other relations in organizations of associated labor depend on what happens at the beginning: for example, the kind of financial package that is devised for some capital investment project. This is the wellspring of subsequent problems concerning sales, prices, inventories, losses, and so on. That is why we have a compact concerning investment criteria in Belgrade. Priority is given to such investment projects as those at the Precision Metal-Machining Industry and 21 Maj in Rakovica since the development of the motor, tractor and automotive industry, and therefore creation of income on a broader social scale, depends on them. Emphasis is also being put on the development of the heavy chemical industry at Prva Iskra, since many manufacturing facilities we already have depend on that.

#### Clearer Responsibility

The framework we have in common and the direction of effective solutions in the planning and accomplishment of socioeconomic development this year and in coming years is joint income, and it is precisely in that domain that there has been a lag. Neither are the necessary efforts being made, nor is there broadly organized public activity to stimulate the self-management pooling of labor on the basis of shared income. These processes cannot be successfully furthered if they are reduced only to individual attempts, unless this is an effort with a broad footing, unless this is the point of departure in the banks and in the measures of sociopolitical communities, unless these processes are subject to an economic necessity. During this very year we must accomplish a turnaround in this regard. No longer are these matters of principle concerning the system, but a specific condition for successful business operation this year and next. For example, in Belgrade it is now very important in housing construction to enhance responsibility in meeting the established construction deadlines. Responsibility should be manifested above all in material form, i.e., we must see that every overrun results in smaller income for those doing the work. Now we should build a mechanism which will make that possible in a direct way. Every other responsibility will also be made clearer thereby.

In our future activities we must be more emphatic than we are now, and we must take as our point of departure that specialized work, science, culture and creativity are in general extremely important factors of socialist consciousness and action. That is, we need to initiate and facilitate still more the prosperity of all forms of creativity and take greater advantage of the opportunities which the self-management system offers us in this regard. By acting within the self-management system and in a direct alliance with all parts of associated labor culture will, for example, essentially strengthen and enrich self-management socialist consciousness and practice. Should it develop outside that context, concerned with some refinement of

its own, withdrawn into itself and detached from other values and domains of the work of society, this will even nurture liberalistic voluntarism in cultural policy and will strengthen tendencies toward monopoly and the superseded role of a cultural elite, and these will then lead inevitably to traditionalism, nationalism and similar phenomena which are opposed to self-management.

When these activities are socialized, they do not lose their creative identity and creative strength. They become only richer thereby. Socialization is not some external ideological and political demand. It is a requirement for a fuller life of culture itself. Everything that has been created must rely in part on the work of others, must come about and develop on the foundations, ideas and realizations that are part of past human experience and which at the same time have an effect on people's spirit and on the time in which works of art are born and live. So, in real life there are objective interdependencies and influences. Why, then, not admit this, why not give them an organized and self-managed character? In our context this means developing the work of self-managed special-interest communities, program committees and social councils, sections of the Socialist Alliance and all forms which bring creativity into a bond with people's lives and work in the self-management context.

#### Democratization as a Condition

This linkup constitutes an act of broadening rather than contracting the space of freedom. But that freedom can be attained only through the medium of social reality, in its self-management flows. Anyone who through, say, his work in the theater or some other work attempts to discredit self-management is actually attacking freedom, and therefore he is not free to appeal to freedom. Fleeing to the periphery of public life, to those less conspicuous places which exist in every society, but certainly to the smallest extent in ours, just like preoccupation with this problem as the focal problem and so to speak the only public problem, is only the other side of that resistance and conflict with our reality, with freedom and with relations in freedom. Such things are still to be found in some places in Belgrade. Party organizations, program committees and other entities must pay attention to them first of all in their own community, must themselves take responsibility for the orientation and policy conducted in the theater, in the publishing house, the film company, and so on. This means that they must debate these issues on an ongoing basis and not only when errors occur in ideology and policy. That will eliminate the errors as well.

The nature of the tasks we now confront, which were set forth at the 11th congress, is such that it presupposes a broad-based effort. Socialist self-management has acquired such an enormous strength and attractiveness because it makes it possible for the masses to show initiative and be creative. That kind of broad effort and mobilization not only of party members, but indeed of all the working people and citizens through the Socialist Alliance and trade unions are impossible to accomplish unless we see that democratic

relations strike still deeper down in the League of Communists and society as a whole. Democratization, then, imposes itself as a necessity, as a condition for action, and not as some derived and purely political demand. Democratization of relations in the League of Communists is also necessary because of the need to constantly strengthen unity in the League of Communists, in order to close up ranks and because we all need to put our shoulders to the wheel in implementing the policy that has been declared. It is another matter that quite a few bourgeois notions of democratization still persist: to the effect that it softens and dilutes action, to the effect that it is indefinite and abstract and contributes to irresponsibility. These are only distorted ideas of democracy.

Even now there are now formal restrictions whatever which hamper us from achieving in everyday practice that which constitutes the essence and spirit of Tito's initiative concerning collective work. This initiative is being supported so powerfully because it expands the area for abilities, for devotion to principle, for comradeship and for other demonstrated human and communist virtues. It will contribute to constructive criticism and will make self-criticism more evident. Collective work concentrates people's efforts on creating and developing their own abilities and contributions rather than on personal craftiness and bureaucratic resourcefulness.

Soon there will be 200,000 members of the League of Communists in Belgrade. The large-scale enrollment of young workers has in recent years been an expression of confidence in the party and of identification with its efforts. Nevertheless, we must pay much more attention to enrollment. It is above all a case of the need to respect the criteria which have been established more consistently. The situation is not the same everywhere. Whereas in spite of the drive we are conducting in large worker collectives an insufficient number of workers are being enrolled, since the workers themselves impose stricter criteria, in some places (schools, universities, institutions) enrollment may not even be taken seriously. We cannot take the position that enrollment should be reduced in certain places, but that the established criteria can and should be consistently respected everywhere.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### KOSOVO PARTY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NEW MEMBERSHIP DATA

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 79 pp 8-9

[Excerpts] Sefedin Batali, member of the Presidium of the LC of Kosovo Province and president of its commission for LC development and organization, and cadre policy, said that during last year and the first months of this year almost 10,000 new members were accepted into the Kosovo LC and that there are now a total of 80,733 members as of the end of March which means that the LC is larger than ever before.

However, the recruitment of new members has not been uniform in all areas. This is confirmed by the fact that last year 392 basic LC organizations accepted no new members at all. In the course of last year and the first 3 months of this year 2,121 workers from direct production were accepted into the LC, so that there are now 21,399 such workers in the LC or 27 percent of the total membership. In addition, there are 3,543 engineers and technicians in the LC who are directly included in the production process. However, this is still far from the decision on a worker majority in the LC. The reasons for this is that the working class in Kosovo is young, and we do not have a large number of workers in associated work in general.

Also during this period 1,414 agricultural producers were accepted into the LC, bringing their total to 11,282 or 14 percent of the total membership. Considering that 63.4 percent of the population in Kosovo lives in rural areas, this is obviously a disproportion which must be overcome.

Thanks to LC organizational and systemic action the old concept is being overcome regarding the acceptance and action of women in the party. Of the total number of new members last year 19.41 percent were women. Now there are 10,555 or 13 percent of the total. However, an example of inadequate action in this regard is the Kosovka textile industry in Pristina where 1,100 women work but where only 196 are LC members.

In regard to young people, they now account for about 40 percent of total LC membership and as much as 71.77 percent of the new members last year.

The basic goal of the new statutes of the LCY, the LC of Serbia, and the LC of Kosovo, as well as the statutory decisions of the opstina conferences,



is to strengthen the role of the working class and working people in decision-making and adaption to the new conditions of development of socialist self-management democracy. The LC should unburden itself of unwieldy basic organizations in which individuals have difficulty to be heard and where coordination and effectiveness are difficult. The formation of new basic organizations has, as a result, begun. During last year and the first 3 months of this year 973 new basic LC organizations were formed, bringing the total at present to 2,890.

In regard to linking of local conferences in rural and city centers, in LC assemblies and aktivs, special attention is now being devoted to the formation and operation of action conferences in complex and larger work organizations. Of special importance in this is the concept and practice of these conferences, not as a higher organ which decides and formulates conclusions, but [as bodies] that coordinate, stimulate and initiate action as needed.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

DATA ON LC MEMBERSHIP IN PRISTINA CITY AND OPSTINA

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 2 Jun 79 p 9

[Excerpts] The city of Pristina has 105,000 inhabitants including 12,665 LC members. In the villages of Pristina Opstina there are 102,000 persons, 4,700 of whom are LC members. All these LC members carry out their activities through 459 basic LC organizations. In the economy of the area there are 175 basic LC organizations with 7,179 LC members, while there are 202 basic LC organizations in the non-economic sector with 5,413 LC members; as well as 15 basic LC organizations in the local communities in the city of Pristina and 67 basic LC organizations in local communities of the villages of Pristina Opstina. Last year an average of 1,800 new members were admitted to the LC in Pristina Opstina [including the city]. According to Daut Jashanice, executive secretary of the Pristina Opstina LC committee, in the last 4 years the number of LC members has doubled, the social class structure of the party has improved, there is greater worker participation in [the LC in] many production organizations, and interest in joining the LC has increased. Of all LC members 28 percent are from the ranks of direct production. But the participation of agricultural workers is not in accord with their structure in the opstina population [as a whole]. The number of young people in the LC here has increased greatly; they have constituted 70 percent of the new members in the last 3 years. This positive tendency is continuing this year, but more youth must be accepted from the ranks of direct production.

At the University of Pristina there are 52 basic LC organizations. Of the 37 LC action conferences which were recently established in accord with the LC statute, 7 are at the University of Pristina, 4 in the Kosovo Mining, Metallurgical, Chemical Combine, and 3 in local communities, while others were formed in various economic and non-economic sectors. At the same time the LC is composed of the following nationalities: 9,751 Albanians, 5,328 Serbs, 1,353 Montenegrins, 158 Turks, 542 Moslems, 156 Romanies, and 77 of other nationalities.

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